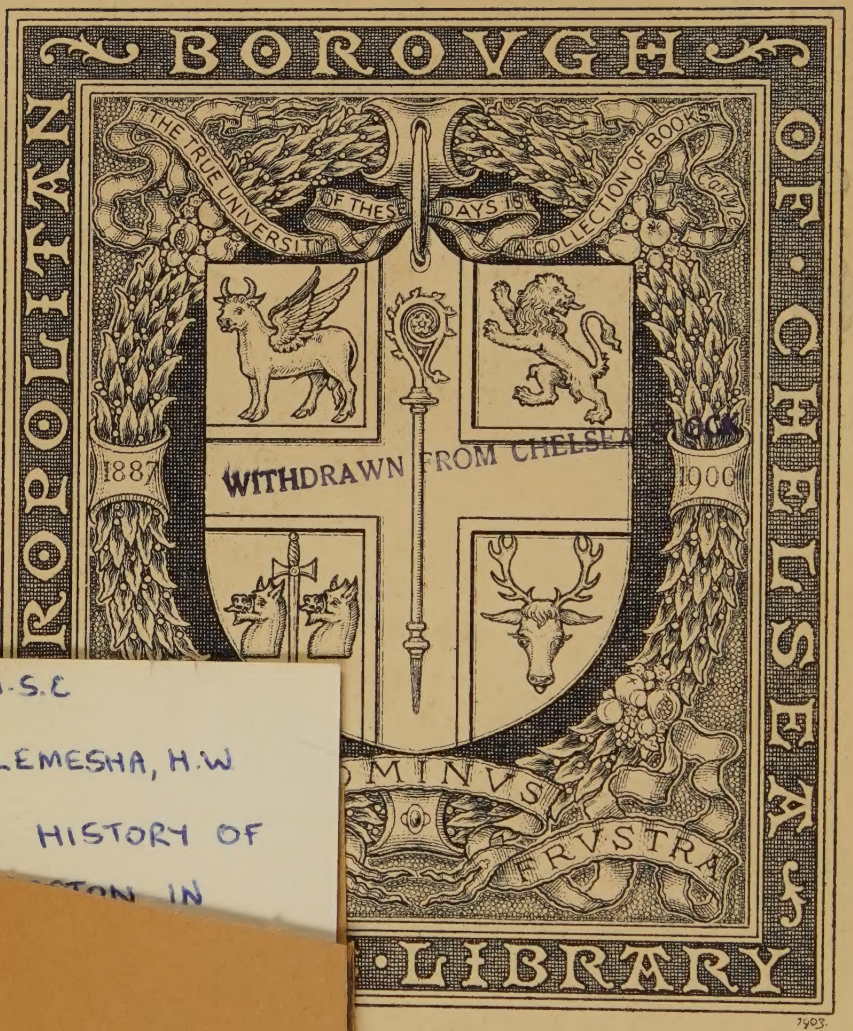

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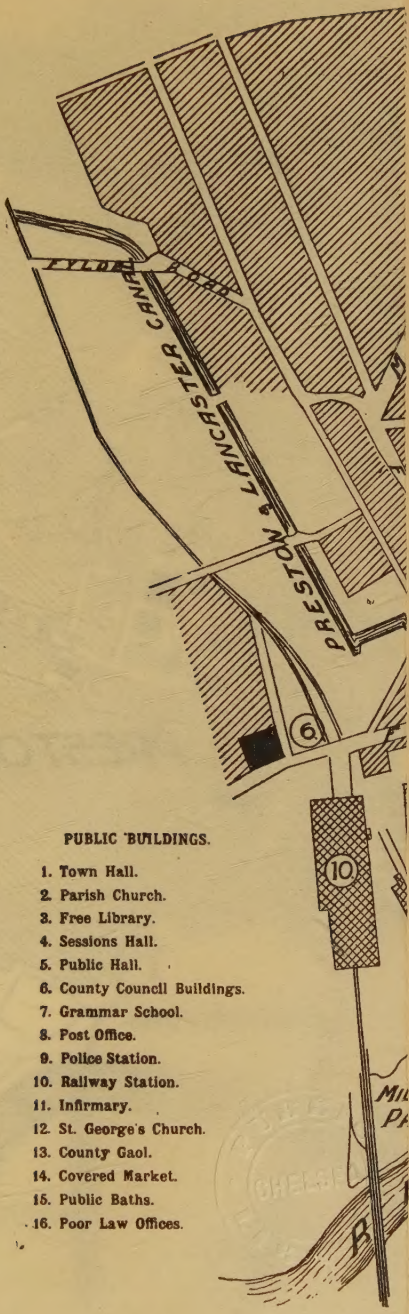

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2. Parish Church.
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5. Public Hall.
6. County Council Buildings.
7. Grammar School.
8. Post Office.
9. Police Station.
10. Railway Station.
11. Infirmary.
12. St. George's Church.
13. County Gaol.
14. Covered Market.
15. Public Baths.
16. Poor Law Offices.

ODERN PRESTON: PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

A History of Preston in Amounderness

BY

H. W. CLEMESHA, M.A.

MANCHESTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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PREFACE.

Briefly, I may say that the main objects I have had in view in writing the following History of Preston have been to incorporate the new materials which have appeared of late, and to have regard to the results of the investigations of Professor Maitland and other scholars into the problems of municipal origins and development.

Putting on one side the Calendars of Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, Papal Letters and Petitions, and State Papers which are constantly being published, many of which contain some hitherto unknown fact or facts bearing on the history of the town, the chief part of the materials which have been thus utilized is to be found, firstly, in the *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Chartulary*, published by Mr. Farrer, secondly, in the series of articles on the Law of Breteuil, which were written by the late Miss Mary Bateson and appeared in the *English Historical Review*, thirdly, in the records of the Court Leet, which have been published by that veteran historian Mr. Hewitson, and fourthly, in the diaries, the contents of which have been so freely drawn upon in Chapter VI. The *Lancashire Pipe Rolls* have enabled us to trace the history of the Honour of Lancaster, of which Preston formed part, through the hands of its various lords and to observe the gradual formation of the county of the same name. As a result of Miss Bateson's work, we have learned of the curious bond which unites a Lancashire manufacturing town with a little known Norman village and the true meaning and importance of the Custumal of Preston have, for the first time, been made clear to us. The records of the Court Leet have furnished a considerable amount of varied information, and in combination with the Bellingham and Rawstorne diaries, which Mr. Hewitson has edited, have served to give us a detailed and interesting picture of the daily life of Preston in the latter part of the seventeenth century, at a time when it

was not only the administrative and legal centre of the county but still remained the most important town within its bounds.

The increased attention which has been devoted to local history of recent years has induced a tendency to study the internal rather than the external aspects of town life, and it is with towns as entities of local government, with their institutions, their local laws, and their social and municipal life that histories are now chiefly concerned. A new set of problems has been placed before students, and it is by the careful examination of these problems as they arise in individual instances that it is hoped to obtain solutions of them. The development of the trading town out of the agricultural community, the growth of the economic and social unit known as a manor into a borough, the different meanings that are to be attached at various periods to the word 'borough,' the origin of the local customs which prevailed in many towns, the nature of their government and of the successive changes in that government, the privileges which were enjoyed by and the duties which were required from their inhabitants, the functions of the Gild Merchant and its relationship to the governing body of the town, the distinction between a gildsman and a burgess, with similar questions, have now taken the foremost place and are engaging the attention of investigators into municipal history. Though the meagreness of the local records makes the attempt somewhat difficult, it is hoped that the following pages may throw some light on these questions, and at the same time give a clearer insight into the nature and conditions of life in mediæval Preston than has been furnished before.

As references have been given in the notes to the authority for nearly every statement that is contained in the text, it has not been thought necessary to add a bibliography.

It should be pointed out that no plan of Preston in the seventeenth century is in existence and that the one which appears between pp. 150 and 151 is based on later maps. Consequently, while the general outline of the town and the position of the streets may be taken to be accurately shown, the plan must not be relied upon in detail.

I have numerous acknowledgments to make. I am indebted to the Corporation of Preston and their courteous officials for access to the records, and to the proprietors of the *Preston Guardian* for the loan of various books and documents and for leave to inspect the files of their newspaper. I have made use of the Revd. B. Nightingale's published articles on the ecclesiastical history of the Commonwealth period and he has kindly corrected the pages relating thereto. Mr. E. J. Andrew, formerly a member of the Ribble Committee, has perused that part of Chapter VIII which deals with the Ribble Scheme. Mr. Hewitson, whose *History of Preston* supplies information on several matters that the limits of this work would not permit me to include, was good enough to read my manuscript. Professor Tout has rendered me a like service and made many suggestions and corrections of which I have gladly availed myself. Above all, however, my gratitude is due to Professor Tait, who, with never failing patience and courtesy, has allowed me to consult him on every point of difficulty and has given me the benefit of his advice and assistance from the commencement of the undertaking to its close.

H. W. CLEMESHA.

CANNON STREET CHAMBERS,
PRESTON,
1st March, 1912.

CHAPTER I.

Situation and Origin.

The geographical position of towns invariably has great influence upon their history and development, and nearly always offers an explanation of their origin. Though kings and other large landowners frequently assisted their subsequent growth, by conferring special privileges upon them, it is to the existence of a good harbour, a navigable river, a main road, a defensible height, or to the combination of two or more of these, that we have to look for an explanation of the beginnings of many places which afterwards became important. It is proper, therefore, that in writing the history of Preston we should commence with some description of the site which it occupies.

Placed upon the north bank of the Ribble, at the very point where the river begins to be navigable, the town stretches along part of a low elevation or cliff, which is traceable from Red Scar westwards through Fishwick, until it reaches Preston proper, when, at varying distances from the channel of the stream, it passes along Avenham and the Maudlands to Ashton. Thus favourably situated on the bank of a river, which until recently was famous for its salmon, it was possessed of another advantage, which was probably the chief factor in the formation and subsequent growth of a settlement.

Stated briefly, it was this. Those who desired to pass from south to north along the west side of England were compelled to take a line which passed through this place. The explanation is simple. The land to the south, and for a considerable distance to the north of Preston is flat; but a few miles to the east of the town there are to be found certain hills or fells, which constitute the southerly continuation of the Pennine range and form that natural

boundary of the county of Lancashire, which was known as the Lyme. The Romans were accustomed to drive their roads from point to point, regardless of obstacles which lay in their path; but those who came later paid more regard to natural advantages in selecting their means of communication. In olden times, therefore, as in modern days of railways, the road to Carlisle and the western highway to Scotland went through Preston. What effect this had, it is difficult to estimate exactly. It is clear that it accounts for three important episodes in the history of Preston, viz., the sacking of the town by the Scots in 1322, the battle in 1648, when Cromwell defeated the royalist forces, and the siege in 1715, when the Jacobite rebels found their way to the south barred by the English troops; but it also probably gave the town that position of local superiority which it seems to have occupied in 1086, when Domesday Book was compiled, and made it the chief place in the Hundred of Amounderness.

That Preston did not become important earlier is due to two causes, one physical, and the other political. Firstly, the area of land we now call Lancashire was shut off from the rest of England on the east by the moors and hills of the Pennine range, of which we have just spoken, while another spur from the same range, jutting out to form the mountains of the Lake district, made approach difficult from the north. On the south the marshy course of the Mersey and the forests of Cheshire formed another barrier, which was impassable except towards the east, where the land commenced to rise and where there is now situated the town of Stockport. So, as a recent writer[1] has said, Lancashire 'had its back to the rest of the known world, as it were, and its face only to Wales and Ireland and to the great ocean.' Under these circumstances one would have expected the rivers to have supplied a way for intercourse with the world, and the

1. Rhodes, *School History of Lancashire*, 3.

Danes, indeed, seem to have reached Lancashire by water. Yet these rivers would appear to have been but little used, and possibly they were not so navigable as they are nowadays. Probably the sand which the Mersey and the Ribble bring down in such large quantities from the hills in which they have their source, formed banks at their estuaries, which made navigation hazardous and difficult, while further up their course, instead of being confined to a straight channel they spread themselves over adjoining low lying ground and formed marshes.

Again, large parts of this area and in particular of the Hundred of Amounderness, which lies between the Ribble and the Cocker and in which Preston is situate, were covered with peat mosses and bogs, such as Pilling Moss, Nateby Moss and Marton Mere, near Blackpool, while much of the remaining land was heavily wooded and, after the Conquest, formed the numerous forests in which wild beasts and birds were preserved for the royal hunting, under the provisions of the hated Forest Law. Some centuries had to pass before draining and cultivation made this unpromising district into rich and fruitful agricultural land, and caused the name of the Fylde (*i.e.*, the field) to be given to a considerable part of Amounderness.

The other reason for the delay in the growth of the town is a political one. The land north of the Mersey and west of the Pennines was for a long time a sort of debatable ground, where Angles from Northumbria and Mercia, Britons of Wales and Strathclyde and invading Danes were locked together in deadly combat. It was the meeting point of hostile races and the land was torn from the grasp of one race only to be snatched back again. It is one of the places to which are assigned those semi-legendary battles, which King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table are said to have fought against the heathen in the sixth century. In the next century, when we leave the realm of legend for that of

history, we have record of a prolonged struggle which took place between the Britons and the northern Angles. In 613, Ethelfrith of Northumbria won the great battle of Chester and cut off the Britons of Strathclyde from their kinsmen of Wales, and thus commenced a sixty years' conflict which ensued before Egfrith finally reduced the northern Britons to submission.

While this conflict was going on another was also proceeding between the kingdoms of Northumbria (England north of the Humber) and Mercia (middle England) for the supremacy of the whole country. It raged with varying success for many years, during which the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was, perhaps, sometimes part of one kingdom and sometimes part of the other. Neither of these kingdoms, however, was powerful enough to obtain the mastery which they sought, and the achievement of extending their overlordship throughout all England was reserved for Egbert and his successors on the throne of Wessex. Before this was accomplished, however, England was invaded by the Danes, who obtained a footing in Lancashire. In Alfred's reign it was agreed that the boundary between the Danes and the English should be up the Thames to the Lea, up the Lea to its source, then to Bedford, afterwards up the Ouse to Watling Street and probably—though this is not stated—along Watling Street to Chester.[1] But Alfred's successors never ceased trying to push the boundary westward and northward, and in 923 Edward the Elder came north and took possession of Manchester, with the result that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was permanently annexed to Mercia.[2] In the course of time the subsidiary kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia became earldoms and under the Danish kings there was an approach to real unity which, however, only became permanent under the Normans.

1. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, (7th edit.), 63.
2. *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 178.

Though this brief sketch of pre-Conquest history is very imperfect, it will, we trust, be sufficient to show that political events conspired with physical features to make the progress of this part of the country, and of the little settlement on the Ribble, slow and painful. Still, though the growth of Preston is to be attributed chiefly to forces which came into play after the Norman Conquest, we may rightly believe that its first beginnings were due to the natural advantages which the town possessed, in being situated on the bank of a river and in lying right across one of the chief roads of the kingdom.

The circumstances which we have mentioned relate chiefly to early times and account for the origin of the town. When we come to later days we have to take into account another element, which has been largely responsible for raising Preston from the position of a small market town to the rank of an important manufacturing centre. This element is that of climate. The town forms the northern limit of the district in which is carried on the great cotton industry of Lancashire. This industry has been settled in the county mainly because of the general humidity of the atmosphere, which is an essential condition for the satisfactory working of the processes which are involved in the manufacture of cotton goods. The humidity is due to the prevailing winds from the Atlantic Ocean, which, laden with the moisture they have gathered in the course of their journey, when they reach the land and strike the hills on the east of the county, are cooled and precipitate the water they are carrying upon the earth in the shape of rain and fog. Putting on one side those economic causes, like the introduction of Free Trade and the close proximity of coal beds, which have helped to promote the triumphal march of this industry, it is in the climatic condition just mentioned that is to be found the secret of that prosperity of the town, which has been consolidated by the manual dexterity of its operatives and the business ability of their employers.

CHAPTER II.

The Borough and its Lords down to the Union of the Duchy of Lancaster with the Crown.

In the earliest period of its history of which we have any knowledge the area that is now called Lancashire, together with the modern counties of Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland, was inhabited by the Brigantes, and as the geographer Ptolemy mentions a Portus Setantiorum as being situate on the west coast somewhere between Morecambe Bay and the mouth of the Dee, it is assumed that a sub-tribe of these people, known as the Setantii, had settled in that district.[1]

Though it was a wild and desolate region, swampy and scantily inhabited, the Romans found their way to it, but so far as we know they never settled in Preston. In fact, if we were to devote our attention exclusively to the borough we should scarcely learn that any such people as those last named had ever come to these shores. A Roman road is said to have crossed one of the main streets of the town,[2] but there is no trace of any walls, and so far as is known, only one coin and no pottery has been found.[3] True it is that traces of a small station have been found at Walton-le-dale,[4] on the opposite bank of the river, and that further up the stream a large fort was established at Ribchester (Bremetennacum), but there does not seem to be any foundation for the tradition, referred to by Camden, that Preston owes its origin to the destruction of the last mentioned place.[5]

1. Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, 2–3.

2. Hardwick, *History of the Borough of Preston*, 46.

3. Fishwick, *History of the Parish of Preston*, 7.

4. This was discovered by Hardwick, see his *History*, 32, et seq. : Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, 205.

5. 'There sprang out of the ruins of Riblechester, Preston, a large Town, handsom and populous for these parts.' Camden, *Britannia*, (edit. by Bishop Gibson), II, 975.

Under the circumstances we are content to leave the question as to whether the Belisama Aestuaria, mentioned by Ptolemy, was the mouth of the Ribble, to be disputed over by learned antiquaries, only stating that it seems to be fairly certain that Rigodunum, forty degrees to the east, referred to by the same geographer, was not Preston.[1]

Of Amounderness we occasionally hear before the Norman Conquest. St. Wilfrid, Bishop of York, in enumerating before the altar at Ripon the lands which kings had given to him beforetime for the welfare of their souls, mentions *juxta Rippel,* which has been interpreted to refer to this district[2]: some two and a half centuries later, Athelstan, Alfred's grandson, is said to have bought the region of Amounderness from the pagans (Danes) and granted it to the church of St. Peter at York in perpetuity[3]: and just before the arrival of the Normans it was included in the possessions of the turbulent Tostig, son of Earl Godwin and brother of Harold, the last of the English kings. But Preston, the 'tun' or township of priests,[4] is first mentioned in Domesday Book. As is now well known, this was a sort of rate-book compiled by commissioners sent out by William the Conqueror in order to ascertain to what amount, in respect of what estates, and by whom danegeld was payable. Inquiries were confined to these objects, and consequently we cannot expect nor do we obtain from it much information beyond what was thought necessary for these purposes. The entries relating to Preston and the surrounding district tell us little about it. The reason is that there was little to tell. At that time the north of England was sparsely populated,

1. Watkin, *Roman Lancashire,* 2, 3, 205; Hardwick, *History,* 13–37.

2. *Historians of the Church of York,* (Rolls Series), I, 26.

3. *Ibid.,* II, 339, 475, and Whitaker, *History of Richmondshire,* II, 419, where the supposed gift is set forth.

4. See a letter from Professor Skeat in Hewitson's *History of Preston,* 2; and Wyld and Hirst, *Place names of Lancashire,* 212.

not only because the east and south were then the chief centres of wealth and population, but also because William, in his determination to crush the rebellion of the northern Earls, Edwin and Morcar, had laid waste large stretches of land in Northumbria.

In Domesday all modern Lancashire north of the Ribble with parts of Cumberland and Westmorland, is placed under the heading 'Agemundrenesse' and surveyed with Yorkshire, but we may assume that the title was not intended by the scribe to apply to anything beyond the entries which immediately follow and only refers to Preston and the surrounding district. Its poverty and insignificance can be best estimated by noticing the scanty details which are set forth in the Conqueror's rate-book. Under the head of 'Agemundrenesse' we read, 'In Prestune Earl Tostig had 6 carucates rateable to the Geld. To it these lands belong.' And then follows a list of sixty-one townships situate in what is now the modern Hundred of Amounderness (but also including Ribchester, which has since become part of Blackburn Hundred), and rated in the aggregate at 168 carucates. The extract concludes with the following sentences, 'All these vills belong to Prestune. And (there are) 3 churches. In 16 of these there are but few inhabitants, but how many there are is not known. The rest are waste. Roger of Poitou had (the whole).'

The first thing that we have to notice about this entry is that Amounderness is assessed in 'carucates.' When Domesday Book was compiled there were two units of assessment in use, the hide and the carucate, the former being the one prevalent throughout the greater part of England, the latter appearing in those places which had been subject to Danish influences.[1] Other traces of the presence of the Danes are to be found in the word Amounderness itself,[2] and in the interchangeable use of

1. Round, *Feudal England*, 91.

2. 'The promontory of Agmundr.' Wyld and Hirst, *Place names of Lancashire*, 49.

the words 'wapentake' and 'hundred' to describe the district and its court. But whatever these Danish influences were, they must have been small, and though it must be supposed that the Danes appeared in this district it can only have been in isolated bands for a small period of time, for the majority of the place names are Saxon. Thus, we find Danish terminations in Ribby and Myerscough,[1] but the distinctively Saxon -ton is the ending that is most often met with.

As to the sense in which these vills 'belonged to' (*jacent ad*) Preston, there is some disagreement. Professor Maitland's interpretation was that they belonged to Preston in the sense that they paid their danegeld there,[2] but Mr. Round[3] and Professor Tait,[4] have raised so many objections to this theory, that we cannot accept it. The probable explanation seems to be that they 'belonged to' Preston in a 'tenurial,' and not a 'fiscal' way: that, in short, they were grouped together, because they were held of the lord of the manor of Preston. That is to say that while Roger of Poitou retained Preston in his own hands the other townships were in the possession of his tenants who owed him 'suit and service' for them. In this connection we may note that Halton and Whittington further north, seem to have occupied a similar position with regard to certain adjacent townships that Preston held in relation to its satellites.

The three churches referred to are in addition to that of Preston and were those of Poulton, Kirkham and St. Michael's-on-Wyre.[5]

As to Roger, who was lord of Preston and its surrounding townships, we must say more, for it is probable that to him are to be attributed the customs and

1. Wyld and Hirst, *Place names of Lancashire*, 192, 218–219.
2. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, passim.
3. *English Historical Review*, XV, 293.
4. *Ibid.*, XII, 768–777.
5. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 289–296 and 336–337.

regulations, which, added to and expanded, formed that ancient Custumal of Preston which in former times was a code of law for the locality and is nowadays the most precious of the town's records. He was a younger son of Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, and was called Roger of Poitou, because he married an heiress from that district in France. He was given the Hundred of Amounderness and the land between the Ribble and the Mersey by William I, but afterwards lost these and certain other possessions for some unknown cause. Restored by William II he was deprived of all his estates through his opposition to Henry I.[1] His father, Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, was a kinsman of William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, who was in the habit of conferring upon townships in his English possessions rights and privileges similar to those granted to his French 'bourgs.' The customs of the little town of Breteuil in Normandy[2] which grew up around Fitz-Osbern's castle, served as a model for the grants made to those English towns which acknowledged him as lord. The two Rogers, father and son, seem to have imitated their relative's practice, and it is probably due to Roger of Poitou that the inhabitants of Preston were ruled according to the ordinances of Breteuil. In granting these customs the lord was not only doing a favour to his people but was conferring a benefit upon himself. The object apparently was to establish centres of order in troubled or thinly populated districts, by offering inducements to people to settle there. The lord abated some of his pretensions to a wholesale interference in the lives of his dependents, consented to make only moderate or fixed demands upon them, and to a certain extent bound his hands by a written instrument. In unsettled times

1. He supported his eldest brother, Robert of Bellême, in his rebellion against the king.

2. Breteuil is in the department of the Eure, between Conches and Verneuil.

the protection of a powerful overlord, who would be moderate in his demands, was a boon not to be despised. When population was thus attracted, the tolls of the market increased, the fines taken by the lord in his court multiplied, and the lord and his successors profited thereby.

The estates which were held by Roger of Poitou included practically the whole of modern Lancashire, together with large possessions in other parts of the country. They were known at first as the Honour of Roger of Poitou and subsequently as the Honour of Lancaster, the word 'Honour' being the collective name, which the feudal lawyers used to describe the possessions of a tenant-in-chief who held a considerable number of large estates.[1] It must always be remembered that the term included much more than the county of Lancaster, which had not yet come into existence.[2]

When Henry I seized the Honour he did not keep it long in his own hand, but conferred it upon his nephew, Stephen of Blois, the future king. There is some evidence that Henry granted a charter to Preston, though no trace of it remains.[3] If he did, it must have been at some time between 1102, when Roger of Poitou and his brother were expelled from England, and 1115—1118, at which date Stephen appears in possession of Roger's lands.

Stephen's connection with the town is very interesting. In 1123 he gave the hamlet of Tulketh, just outside the boundary, to monks of the order of Savigny,[4] who remained there for three years, when having been endowed by him with the forest of Furness, together with

1. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, (2nd edit.), I, 260.
2. *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 182.
3. Abram, *Memorials of Preston Guilds*, 1.
4. The order of Savigny was founded by St. Vital de Mortain in 1122. The rule was an adaptation of the Benedictine. The order was incorporated with the Cistercians in 1147. *English Historical Review*, VIII, 668–671.

Walney, Dalton and Ulverston, they resigned Tulketh to their founder and removed to their new possessions.[1] Shortly after their removal there was founded not far from the site of the deserted monastery another institution, the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalen.[2] One of the most awful scourges, to which our ancestors were subject, was the disease of leprosy, which was probably induced by the poverty of their diet, into which fish and pickled or salted meat entered very largely, and the unsanitary condition of the towns. The wretched victims were driven from the haunts of men and compelled to live a solitary life, or to find refuge in places of this nature, which were served by devoted religious men. The remembrance of the piety of the founder and of the Brethren of Preston is still preserved in the name Maudlands which is attached to that part of the town.

The next lord of the Honour, or rather of that part of it which lay north of the Ribble and included Preston, was David, the King of the Scots, who claimed the earldom of Northumbria for his son Henry in the right of his (David's) wife, who was a daughter of Earl Waltheof.[3] This claim was acknowledged in 1139, and it would be in virtue of this title that the Scotch king entered into possession of that part of the Honour, which had formed part of the earldom before the Conquest.[4]

In 1149 the Honour north of the Ribble was ceded by David to Ranulf Gernons (Moustachios), Earl of

1. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 301–3.

2. There is no evidence for Mr. Farrer's conjecture that the hospital was founded by Stephen. It is first mentioned in certain letters of protection granted by Henry II between 1178 and 1186. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 333–334.

3. David was son of Malcolm Canmore (Bighead). One of his sisters married Henry I of England and another married Eustace, Count of Boulogne, whose daughter Matilda became wife of Stephen.

4. *The Chronicle of John, Prior of Hexham*, Surtees Society, XLIV, 123. Two charters in which David confirmed to the monks of Shrewsbury certain of their possessions in Bispham and Kirkham are set forth in Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 274–275.

Chester,[1] who had already obtained from Stephen, probably by force, that part of it which lay between the Ribble and the Mersey sometime before the year 1147.[2] In 1153 Ranulf was confirmed in the possession of the whole of the Honour by Henry of Anjou, who was soon to succeed to the throne as Henry II.[3] Ranulf was the largest landowner and the most powerful subject in England, and the kingmaker of the period. David, Stephen and Henry, all strove to secure his support and the cession of the Honour was one of the means used.

When the long turmoil of the civil war which rent England during the reign of Stephen and reduced it to a state of helpless misery was at length brought to an end by the Treaty of Wallingford on November 6th, 1153, it was agreed that Henry should succeed Stephen as king and that the former should grant to William, Earl of Warenne, Stephen's second son, all the estates which his father held before he succeeded to the throne. Ranulf died in December, 1153, and Stephen in October of the following year, when, in accordance with this agreement and as heir to his father, the Earl of Warenne acquired the Honour of Lancaster.[4] The Earl died in 1159 and on the termination of his widow's right of dower in it, the Honour, and Preston as part of it, reverted to the king in 1164.[5]

When Henry II was lord of the Honour, he granted to the burgesses of Preston the same privileges as those which he had previously conferred on Newcastle-under-Lyme.[6]

1. *The Chronicle of John, Prior of Hexham*, Surtees Society, XLIV, 159.

2. The charter printed by Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 367–370, seems to belong to 1149 and not to 1140, see Tait, *Mediæval Manchester*, 169-173, and *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 186.

3. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 370-371.

4. *Ibid.*, 373–374 and 430.

5. *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 187.

6. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 412–413; Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 4, 5.

It was always better for a town that it should fall into the hands of the king than that it should be under the dominion of an inferior lord. Firstly, because the inferior lord frequently lived near to the town, and was not only jealous of the growing powers of the community which was springing up, but was always watching to see that none of his privileges were invaded or any of his perquisites withheld, while the king, who lived at a distance, was often ignorant of the doings of the townsfolk—doings which in process of time hardened into customs and were then difficult to uproot. The lesser lord, with his smaller possessions, was sooner made aware of any breach of his rights than the monarch of England, who merely relied upon the occasional visits of his servants. Secondly, because the kings often being in want of money were always ready to make a bargain with the inhabitants of towns, who by reason of their being engaged in trade were in a better position to provide it than the other classes of their subjects. As has been frequently pointed out the 'power of the purse' was the weapon with which the English nation obtained most of its liberties, for though our ancestors never shrunk from fighting for them, if it was necessary, they preferred to buy them whenever it was possible so to do. The grant of this charter, therefore, was presumably a business transaction, and it was probably not so much the generosity of Henry II as the state of his purse, that induced him to give the people of Preston the privileges of Newcastle-under-Lyme for the sum of 100 marks.[1]

We have been able to trace the connection between the Custumal of Preston and the law of Breteuil, but we are unable to say why the burgesses should have selected the privileges of Newcastle-under-Lyme in preference to those of any other town. All we know is that the charters of certain towns set out in detail the rights and privileges which were granted to them, and that some of

1. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 43.

them became models or precedents, so that applications for a charter were frequently satisfied by the granting in general terms of the privileges which had been conferred on some other city or town, such as Northampton, Bristol or Newcastle-under-Lyme. Unfortunately the charter to Newcastle-under-Lyme has been lost and so we cannot tell what franchises the men of Preston obtained for their money.[1]

When Richard I succeeded his father in 1189, he bestowed the Honour of Lancaster upon his brother John, Count of Mortain,[2] who held it until he was dispossessed of it for treasonable plotting against his brother in 1194, but not before he had granted a charter to his burgesses of Preston and made Theobald Walter, (the nephew of the Justiciar Glanville and the elder brother of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury), lord of part of the Honour, to wit Amounderness and Preston. When Theobald threw over John and adhered to Richard he received a fresh grant from the latter,[3] but on John's accession he was again deprived of it for acting

1. The charter to Newcastle-under-Lyme, which is given by Mr. Farrer (*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 414–415) as that of Henry II, is really one granted by Henry III to that town. This is proved by the use of the title, 'lord of Ireland,' which was never used by any king before John, and by the appearance in it of the name of Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, who is described as 'our Chancellor' and, in fact, occupied that office in the reign of Henry III. An exemplification of this charter of Henry III was in the possession of the Preston Corporation, and a somewhat imperfect rendering of it is to be found in Dobson and Harland's *History of Preston Guild*, 79–82, but the authors have fallen into the error of attributing the exemplification to Edward I instead of to Edward III, a mistake which they would not have committed had they noticed the document commences with the words 'Edward, by the grace of God, king of England *and France*,' a style which was adopted by the third Edward after he set up a claim to the French throne. All this has been recently pointed out by Mr. Jeayes of the Record Department of the British Museum in his report on the corporation records. *Preston Guardian*, July 23rd, 1910.

2. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 73.

3. *Ibid.*, 81, 434–436.

oppressively to his under-tenants.[1] John did not retain the lordship of Preston long, but while it was in his hands he granted a second charter to the burgesses.

It would require very great courage to act as apologist for this king. He was the favourite son of his father and yet he joined his brothers in their rebellion against him: he repaid the generosity of his brother King Richard with treason: he first defied and then cringed before the Pope: he sealed the Great Charter of liberties, and when he had broken its provisions he attempted to overawe his subjects by the aid of foreign mercenaries. With a record such as this, it is not surprising that he is popularly regarded as the worst king in our history. Let us however act in accordance with the popular injunction and 'give the devil his due.' If we do so, we have to point out that not only was he the founder of Liverpool, but that many other boroughs and towns owe a great deal to him, for he was extremely lavish of charters to them both before and after he became king. The charter that he gave to Preston, when he was Count of Mortain, has been lost; but the one he gave as king, in the first year of his reign still remains, and the privileges which it conferred were very valuable. By it he granted to the burgesses the right to hold a fair on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15th) which was to last eight days, and permission to pasture their cattle in his forest of Fulwood, with liberty to take timber therefrom for building their town.[2] There was also added the toll of the Wapentake or Hundred of Amounderness, a gift the precise value of which it is now somewhat difficult to estimate, but which seems to have formed the foundation of the claim, which the corporation made in the 17th century, to the tolls of Garstang market and fair.[3]

1. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 115, 120, 211n.

2. Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 5, 6. For this charter the burgesses paid 60 marks and 4 chasours. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 116, 123.

3. Fishwick, *History*, 48.

On the intercession of his brother, Archbishop Hubert Walter, John not only restored Theobald to his possessions, but made him sheriff of so much of the Honour of Lancaster as lay within the Lyme, a portion which was now very generally referred to as the county.[1] We find that, shortly after his restoration, he had trouble with the burgesses. In the reign of Henry II the burgesses of Preston had had to pay the sheriff five marks, because they exercised judicial rights which were not included in the scope of their charter of liberties, and put a man to the ordeal of water.[2] Heedless or forgetful of this experience they had set up a gaol and a gibbet, and they were now compelled to pay 10 marks and 1 palfrey in order that they might have peace in the proceedings which Theobald brought against them.[3] However Theobald did not live to trouble Preston long, as he died in 1205, when Amounderness was again resumed by the crown.

In 1216, while retaining the Honour in royal possession, John committed the custody of the county and of the castle at Lancaster to his staunch supporter Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, whose fame in ballad literature vied with that of Robin Hood,[4] but in 1223 owing to a quarrel with Hubert de Burgh the regent for the infant king Henry III, the shrievalty and the custody of the county were transferred to Ranulf's brother-in-law William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby.[5] However, King Henry when he came of age in 1227, took the Honour more definitely under his control, and appointed sheriffs

1. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 212.

2. *Ibid.*, 55.

3. *Ibid.*, 130.

4. 'But I kan rymes of Robyn Hood,
And Ranulf erl of Chestre.'

Langland, *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* (edit. by Wright), II, 101. Ranulf de Blundeville was grandson of Ranulf Gernons.

5. *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 193.

from among the chief tenants of the county, instead of from among the great earls.[1]

He further signalized his majority by issuing a charter to the burgesses of Preston confirming the charters previously granted, and commanding that the burgesses have and hold their 'liberties and free customs, as well those which the Lord Henry our Grandfather gave to them of his own gift, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, peaceably and honourably, after the best and most free manner, in which they ever held the said liberties in the time of King Henry our Grandfather, and as the Charter of King Henry our Grandfather, and of King John our Father (which they have thereupon), reasonably testify.'[2]

In 1252 the same king granted another charter[3] to the burgesses, from which it would appear that there had been an inquiry held by the sheriff, as to whether 324 acres of land lying between the borough and the king's forest of Fulwood belonged to the burgesses or to the king. The inquiry had resulted in a verdict for the burgesses, but in order to make certain they seem to have approached the king for a charter confirming the decision. The main interest of this charter lies in the fact that it defines the northern boundary of the borough, and shows that in the reign of Henry III, if not earlier, it was the same as it is now, or rather as it was before the incorporation of Ashton, namely, along Eaves Brook from Ribbleton on the east to its junction with the Savick, and then along that stream to a ditch which separated the borough from the hamlet of Tulketh on the west.

In 1260 the king, whose piety much exceeded his ability, gave five oaks to Sydwood, Lancaster, to be used for building purposes, to the convent of Franciscan

1. *Victoria County History, Lancashire,* II, 193.
2. Lingard, *Preston Charters,* 6 and 7.
3. *Ibid.,* 8 and 9.

friars in Preston, which had been founded by one of the Prestons of Preston.[1]

Seven years later Preston passed out of the hands of the king into those of another lord, for Henry granted the whole Honour of Lancaster, with the county and the castle, to his younger son Edmund Crouchback, whom he also created Earl of Lancaster.[2]

While Edmund was lord of the borough a rather curious case was tried affecting the liberties and franchises of the town. His brother, King Edward I, was anxious to limit the immunities of the feudal lords, which interfered with the orderly administration of justice and government. Not only did they hold those courts to which the simple possession of land seems to have conferred a right, but owing to the lack of a powerful central organization and the weakness and necessities of the kings, they had acquired a large number of other powers, which should only have been exercised by the crown. For some of these powers the possessors had grants and charters to produce; for others they had no higher right than the fact that they had made use of them without dispute for many years. In order to bring them again into possession of the crown, the Statute of Gloucester was passed in 1278, and commissions were sent out to inquire by what authority these powers were exercised. Though these proceedings created ill-will amongst the great lords, and Edward was compelled to proceed cautiously, much was accomplished. Actuated by the somewhat different motive of making money, the king next turned his attention to the towns, which were much more defenceless than the lords. We find accordingly that in 1292 the bailiffs and the community of the borough of Preston were summoned to answer the lord king by what warrant (*quo warranto*) they claimed to have a free borough, a market, a fair, and other privi-

1. *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 162.
2. *Cal. Rot. Chart.*, (Rec. Comm.), 94.

leges. The bailiffs replied that King John, when Count of Mortain, granted and confirmed to them all the liberties and customs which Henry II had given and confirmed, and they produced the charter which John had given them before he became king. The counsel for the king replied that Richard I had been in possession of the liberties, to which the bailiffs answered by putting in the charter of John when king. Being asked if Richard had been in possession of the liberties, they did not reply. Being further asked if they paid anything for these customs, they replied that they used to pay the king £15, which they paid now to Edmund, brother of the king, by the direction of the lord King Henry, his father. Eventually the liberties were declared to be in the possession of the king, because Henry II's charter to Preston did not set out the privileges granted, and the bailiffs were unable to show that the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme had liberties of this nature.[1]

About the same time another action was brought by the king in which he claimed the manors of Preston, Ribby and Singleton from his brother Edmund.[2]

We should have liked to have listened to the arguments in the first case. For not only should we have ascertained why the bailiffs did not plead that they had received a charter from Henry III confirming all previous charters, but we might also have heard something on the question as to what was meant at this time by the words 'a free borough.' We know that certain towns were distin-

1. *Plac. de Quo Warr.*, (Rec. Comm.), 385.

2. *Ibid.*, 388. The following are the only other references to the 'manor' of Preston that have been found. In 1295 a 'nativus' of the king's, of his manor of Preston, is mentioned (Baines, *History of Lancashire*, (edit. by Croston), V, 303, quoting *Mem. Scacc.* Trin, T. 23 Ed. I). In the reign of Edward III the manor of West Preston (*sic*) was taken into the hands of the king, 'occasione guerrae inter dominum Regem et illum qui se dicit regem Franciae,' (*Cal. Inquis. ad Quod Damnum*, (Rec. Comm.), 306), but this seems to have been wrongly placed under the head of Lancashire.

guished from certain other towns by being called boroughs, and that charters to towns frequently commenced with the words '*Quod sit liber burgus,*' but the distinction between the town that is a borough and the town that is not escapes us.

If we were asked what a borough is nowadays, we should have no hesitation in replying 'A town with a corporate existence.' But the idea of 'incorporation,' of uniting together a number of persons to form a body with a legal existence, separate and distinct from that of the individuals who constitute it, had scarcely made its way as yet into English law,[1] though it is true that, before this case was tried something approaching it must have obtained in Preston as we find the burgesses confirming certain conveyances to Cockersand Abbey by affixing the common seal of the town.[2] Again, if this case had been tried a century later, say in 1392 instead of 1292, and the judges had asked the counsel for the king what in their view was a free borough, they would promptly have replied that a borough was a town that sent representatives to parliament. But in 1292 only twenty-seven years had elapsed since Simon de Montfort had summoned burgesses to the Great Council of the realm, and the question whether a town was called upon to elect representatives depended at this time on the judgment or the caprice of the sheriff of the county, so that it will easily be seen that the idea of a borough as a representative-sending town was only in its infancy.

But if we are denied both these definitions, we are not without alternative theories from which to choose. One authority holds that the phrase covered a varying group of franchises the most important of which was the judicial independence of the town, or, in other words, the privileges which the burgesses possessed of not being compelled to appear before the courts of the shire and

1. Maitland, *Township and Borough*, 18–24.
2. *Chartulary of Cockersand*, Chetham Society, XXXIX, 220, 221.

the hundred.[1] Another view is that the expression *liber burgus* or 'free borough' meant no more than the substitution of burgage tenure and its customs for the villein services and the *merchet*[2] of the rural manor, and that where it does not appear in the charter it is because burgage tenure existed before the granting of the charter.[3] To put it in another way, a borough was a place which enjoyed burgage tenure either with or without grant. So that on this theory Penwortham just across the Ribble, which appears in Domesday Book with its six burgesses, three radmen, eight villeins, and four neatherds grouped round the recently erected castle was a *burgus*, and Preston would become one when its inhabitants obtained burgages under the provisions of the law of Breteuil.

We may perhaps sum up as follows. The meaning of the word 'borough' was at this time incapable of exact definition.[4] None of the charters contained the grant of a *liber burgus*, except the charter to Newcastle-under-Lyme, which the bailiffs were unable to produce. Consequently on this technical point, or possibly because it was held that existing charters required a fresh confirmation on a demise of the crown, and that the charters of John and Henry III were only grants for the life of the reigning king, judgment was given against the bailiffs.

Whatever his reason may have been, it seems to us that the king was acting in both cases in an arbitrary and unfair manner. That Preston had been a borough and had held markets and fairs and had charters to show for its franchises, and that his brother Edmund had been granted the Honour of Lancaster admitted of no reason-

1. Miss Bateson, *Mediæval England*, 124–125.

2. The sum paid by a villein to his lord for leave to give his daughter in marriage.

3. Tait, *Mediæval Manchester*, 62.

4. On the meaning of 'borough,' see Petit Dutaillis, *Studies supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, 67–90.

able doubt. We do not know why the king took action against his brother, but we are confirmed in our opinion that the proceedings against the borough were a mere money-making device, when we learn that a payment of ten marks for a delay of execution seems to have set the matter right, and that only three years later the king treated the town as a borough by calling upon it to send representatives to parliament.[1]

When Edmund of Lancaster died in 1296, the Honour of Lancaster and his other estates and possessions passed to his elder son Thomas, who became in his own right Earl of Lancaster, Derby and Leicester, and through his wife Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury. He was thus the most powerful man in the kingdom, and aspired to be the leader of the discontent which was caused by the misgovernment of Edward II and his favourites. But he was not fashioned in the mould of Simon de Montfort, and his actions only served to increase the general confusion. In this confusion Lancashire suffered perhaps worse than the rest of the kingdom. At any rate it was the scene of a somewhat serious revolt amongst Lancaster's tenants. In 1315 Sir Adam Banaster, Sir Henry de Lea and Sir William Bradshaw raised troops at Westhoughton and demanded the dismissal of the Earl's principal counsellor Robert de Holland of Upholland, but after obtaining a temporary success they were defeated by Sir Edward de Nevill the

1. William Fitz Paul and Adam Russell were the first members of parliament for Preston, and sat in the 'Model' parliament of 1295 Fishwick (*History*, p. 367) is in error in stating that the borough was first represented in 1297. The parliament of that year did not include representatives of either the inferior clergy or the boroughs. (Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, (Library edit., 1880), II, 141). The mistake probably arose through copying Pink and Beavan's *Lancashire Parliamentary Representation*, 130, cf. 135 where the date is correctly stated.

sheriff of the county on the 4th November between Preston and Deepdale.[1]

Not only did the county suffer from internal strife, but in 1322, in the same year in which Lancaster was defeated at Boroughbridge and executed at Pontefract, it was invaded by the Scots, who after Bannockburn had held the north of England very much at their mercy. On one of these raids Bruce, with the Earl of Moray and Lord James Douglas, penetrated as far south as Preston, which they took and burnt in 1322.[2]

Prior to his execution Earl Thomas had been convicted of high treason and his estates had been seized by the king, but, after the inglorious reign of Edward II had terminated, this forfeiture was reversed and his titles, with the county of Lancaster and most of his estates were restored to his younger brother, Henry 'Wryneck,' who retained them until his death in 1345.

In the second year of the reign of the new king Edward III we meet with two important Preston documents, a charter[3] and certain orders of a Mayor's Court, which contain the first record of the holding of a Gild Merchant.[4] The charter confirmed the previous charters of Henry II, John and Henry III, conferred in express terms the right to hold a market every Wednesday and granted the privilege of holding a second fair, commencing on the eve of the feast of the Apostles St. Simon and St. Jude (October 28th) and lasting for five days. It is not proposed to deal here with the orders made at the Mayor's Court, as they will be fully treated in a later chapter.[5]

On the death of Henry, Earl of Lancaster in 1345 he

1. *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, (Rolls Series), I, 279, and II, 214–215 : *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. II, 1313–17, 421.

2. *Chronicle de Lanercost*, (Maitland Club), 246 : *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 199.

3. Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 9 and 10.

4. Post, 72.

5. Post, Chapter IV.

was succeeded by his son Henry 'of Grosmont,' who six years later was created Duke of Lancaster by Edward III. At the same time the king added to the number of the privileges and franchises which the Earls of Lancaster already possessed by making Lancashire a county palatine.[1] The original object of conferring palatine rights, that is to say, of giving certain great barons as full powers in their fiefs as the king enjoyed in his palace, was to enable them better to act as guardians of the border lands which impinged upon Wales and Scotland. It was in this way that the earldom of Chester and the bishopric of Durham became palatinates. But the danger from Scotland had passed away, and even if it had been still existing and it had been desired to erect another barrier against it, Cumberland would have been a better selection than Lancashire. We are forced to the conclusion, therefore, that the grant was made simply to do additional honour to the king's relative, and the decision is easier to arrive at when we observe that both the dukedom and the palatine rights were given for life only and lapsed on Henry's death. The title was speedily revived, however, and conferred, in 1362, on the king's son John of Gaunt, who married Blanche, the heiress of Lancaster.[2] In 1377 the Duke obtained from a packed parliament and a dying king those palatine privileges which had been withheld,[3] and thirteen years later he succeeded in getting them entailed on his heirs male.[4] When he died in 1399 Richard II seized his estates and thus gave his exiled son Henry a pretext for invading the country and bringing about the king's deposition. The new king was careful not to incorporate his family possessions with the crown lands. From this time the lordship of Lancashire and the other estates in different parts of the country which formed the

1. Hardy, *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 9–11.
2. *Ibid.*, 17–18.
3. *Ibid.*, 32–34.
4. *Ibid.*, 68.

Duchy of Lancaster were never again in private hands, and when they were seized by Edward IV in 1461 it was declared that they should be held by him and his heirs so long as they were kings of England.[1]

Having thus far dealt with the civil history of Preston and traced the relationship of the borough to its various lords, we propose now to consider the history of the district of which Preston was the centre from its ecclesiastical side.

The introduction and spread of Christianity in the area which later became the county of Lancashire is involved in considerable obscurity and such knowledge as may be obtained from the scanty materials that are available must be sought elsewhere than in these pages. The first event of which we shall take note, the battle of Chester, was primarily of political importance, for by his great victory there in 613, Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, separated the Welsh of Strathclyde from their kinsmen of Wales. But the battle had this further consequence, that after the conversion of the country to Christianity the land north of the Mersey became part of the diocese of York, and though that part of it which lay between the Ribble and the Mersey was subsequently brought under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Mercian see of Lichfield, Preston remained subject to York until the Reformation.

The bishops' sees were the earliest part of the machinery of the church to be created in England. At first they were practically coincident with the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, but owing to the efforts of Theodore of Tarsus, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 693, these unwieldy dioceses were subdivided and fresh bishoprics created.[2] 'Divine service was originally performed within the whole of an episcopal district by the bishop himself and other clergymen making circuits from the episcopal seat and returning thereto.

1. Hardy, *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 324.
2. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, 257, et seq.

Gradually at various points in the see fixed stations for individual priests were established. This was due in most cases to grants of land from the king or other land-owners for the building of a church, frequently also it was connected with the foundation of new monasteries. . . . As the number of these churches scattered over the county grew, it became requisite to mark off the districts within which the several clergymen might officiate.' These districts when thus marked off were known as parishes, and the formation of them had been fully developed by the end of the eighth century.[1]

These parishes were divided into groups which were placed under certain officers of the bishop, who were known as rural deans. They were also subject to the jurisdiction of another and a more powerful ecclesiastical official called an archdeacon. At first each bishop had only one archdeacon, who acted for him throughout the whole of his see, but shortly after the Norman Conquest two or more were appointed in every diocese and a separate district allotted to each of them.

When all this had been accomplished the parish of Preston is found to be in the deanery of Amounderness (1177—1178),[2]—a district whose original limits we are unable to define, but which contained, in 1292, the parishes of Preston, Lancaster, Kirkham, Garstang, Chipping, Cockerham, Lytham, Poulton, St. Michael's-on-Wyre and Ribchester[3]—and in the archdeaconry of Richmond, which included the land north of the Ribble, the western half of the North Riding of Yorkshire and the districts of Kendal and Copeland.

The original parish included eight townships, in addition to the borough. These were Ashton (made up of the hamlets of Ingol, Cottam, Lea and Ashton),

1. Makower, *Constitutional History of the Church of England*, (Eng. trans.), 326–327.

2. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 38

3. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai*, (Rec. Comm.), 307.

Broughton, Barton, Haighton, Elston, Grimsargh, (composed of the hamlets of Grimsargh and Brockholes), Ribbleton and Fishwick, but not Fulwood, which was in the curious position of being surrounded by land forming part of Preston parish, and yet of itself belonging to the parish of Lancaster.[1] In the course of time some of these townships became separate parishes and the borough itself was sub-divided, but without entering into details with regard to the constituent parts of the parish or too closely limiting the history to the borough, we may deal fairly completely with this important branch of the subject.

It is probable that there was a church here in Saxon times, but there is no evidence one way or the other. On the other hand we have already seen that in 1086, there were, according to Domesday Book, three churches in Amounderness, and it is generally supposed that these were the churches of Kirkham, Poulton and St. Michael's-on-Wyre, and that they were in addition to that of Preston. Eight years later, however, we have positive proof of its existence in the shape of a deed of grant made by Roger of Poitou of the churches of Preston, Kirkham and Poulton together with others outside Amounderness, to the abbey of St. Martin of Sées for the maintenance of the monks of its dependent priory of St. Mary of Lancaster[2]—a gift which was subsequently confirmed in general terms by Ranulf Gernons, Earl of Chester,[3] and in detail with slight alterations, by John, when Count of Mortain.[4]

The church is said to have been originally dedicated to St. Wilfrid and to have been re-dedicated after the Reformation to St. John,[5] but no evidence has yet been

1. Because it was part of the demesne of the Honour of Lancaster.
2. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 289–290.
3. *Ibid.*, 296.
4. *Ibid.*, 298–299.
5. Whittle, *History of Preston*, I, 51.

adduced for either statement, and it is fairly certain that even in the thirteenth century the church was known as the church of St. John or of St. John the Baptist.[1]

When Theobald Walter obtained Amounderness from Richard I in 1194, he laid claim to the advowson of the church. In the legal proceedings which ensued the monks of Sées were required to give it up, though they were allowed to retain a yearly pension of 10 marks.[2] They were still in possession of their right to this sum a hundred and forty years afterwards, for we find the abbot and convent taking proceedings in 1334, against Thurstan de Holland, the parson of Preston, to recover six years' arrears which had been withheld by him.[3]

On the death of Theobald Walter the advowson was acquired by the crown and Henry III ultimately bestowed it on his son Edmund, the first Earl of Lancaster, from whom it passed to his descendants.

Some time between 1345 and 1351 the abbot and convent of the Cistercian abbey of Whalley, in want of money to pay for their new buildings petitioned the Archbishop of York to sanction the gift of the church of Preston, which they stated had been made to them by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and they offered to allow the perpetual vicar the sum of £20 a year.[4] If the petition is correct either the Archbishop must have refused his consent or the Earl of Lancaster must have repented of his generosity, for there is no trace of the monks ever having appointed to the church. The second alternative seems the more probable one, as there is evidence to

1. *Chartulary of Cockersand*, Chetham Society, XXXIX, 221, 222, and an article by the present writer in the *Preston Guardian*, January 19th, 1901.

2. *Lancashire Fines*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., XXXIX, 6 and 7.

3. *Chartulary of the Priory of Lancaster*, Chetham Society, XXXI, 527.

4. Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, I, 168–169, where the petition is set forth.

show that in 1355, four years after he had been made a duke, he intended to give this and other churches to the college of St. Mary, or the Newark, at Leicester.[1] Opposition, however, appears to have been raised to this,[2] possibly by the abbey of Whalley, for the gift was not perfected, the Duke presented to the church in 1359 and the advowson of Preston appears amongst the list of his possessions on his death in 1361.[3] From him it passed to his daughter and heiress who married John of Gaunt,[4] and from them it descended to their son Henry IV, who at length carried out the long promised donation to the dean and chapter in the year 1400 by granting them the church, on condition that they properly endowed a vicarage and distributed out of its revenues such a sum in alms as the Archbishop of York should direct.[5]

These gifts of churches to monasteries were one of the characteristic features of the mediæval church system. The revival of religion which took place at the beginning of the eleventh century resulted in the foundation of a large number of conventual institutions, the inmates of which were bound to perform divine service for the welfare of their founder in this present life and for the peace of his soul in the hereafter. In addition to the land with which these institutions were endowed, they

1. The license in mortmain is dated March 4th, 1355. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. III, 1354–1358, 184, cf. 186, which proves it to have been 'Preston in the Duchy of Lancaster.' In this year it appears amongst a list of property held by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, for the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Mary of Leicester. *Cal. Inquis. post Mortem*, (Rec. Comm.), II, 189.

2. An indenture dated June 13th, 1356, made between the Earl and the college and intended to protect the latter from disturbance was enrolled on July 18th, 1357. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1354–1360, 318–319.

3. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360–1364, 205 : *Cal. Inquis. post Mortem*, (Rec. Comm.), II, 238.

4. John of Gaunt presented Ralph de Erghum in 1374.

5. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry IV, 1399–1401, 341 : *Cal. Papal Letters*, V, 1396–1404, 410 : *ibid.*, VI, 1404–1415, 110.

also received in many cases the advowsons of churches which belonged to their founder or to some subsequent benefactor. At first they were content to present a rector or a parson to the living, in precisely the same way as lay patrons did, and to receive from him a fixed pension, but about the end of the twelfth century a new system came into vogue in which the religious corporations took the tithes and other parish revenues to themselves and appointed a secular priest to be their vicar in the parish at a stipend. This device, which was known as an 'appropriation,' required the sanction of the bishop of the diocese, who generally speaking would only consent to it when suitable provision was made for the maintenance of the incumbent.

Much might be said both for and against the system of monastic appropriations. In the hands of lay patrons livings were frequently regarded as a provision for younger sons or needy dependents, who were either too young or too ill-educated to enter upon their office at once, or they went to swell the income of some highly placed official, who already possessed other benefices the religious duties of which were performed for him by salaried deputies. While the religious houses were seats of humble piety and faithful work it was probably better that a portion of the income of these livings should go to them than to pluralists and non-residents. On the other hand the monastic corporations were prone to take an undue part of the revenues to themselves and to trouble themselves not at all as to how the parishioners fared under the ministrations of the poverty stricken vicar whom they had presented. These rectories also provided some of that wealth which later caused corruption and laxity of life to lay their blighting hands upon the religious orders of England.[1]

Until the appropriation of the living in 1400 it was

1. As to the above and as to the effect of appropriations in Lancashire, see *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 12, 16.

held by many different incumbents, but our knowledge of them is so scanty that most of them are merely names to us. What we can safely say may be stated in a few sentences. Firstly, all the holders of the benefices would be rectors receiving the full tithes of the parish. Secondly, so far as we can ascertain, they were all in holy orders. Thirdly, as several of them were pluralists and held other benefices, they were probably absentees. Fourthly, they may or may not have appointed some priest at a stipend to perform the duties of the cure.[1]

While the living was in the gift of Henry III, some of these rectors were persons of note in the general history of England. One of them, Guy de Roussillon, who obtained the living in 1243, was one of the king's foreign clerks[2]: another, William de Haverhill (1246—1252) was Treasurer of the kingdom[3]: a third, Henry de Wingham (1256—1262), was Bishop of London and Chancellor,[4] while his successor, Walter de Merton, was even more distinguished, for not only was he Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of England but he obtained a more enduring fame by founding that college at Oxford, which still flourishes and bears his name.[5]

One of Henry's appointments, however, was somewhat of a scandal. In 1252 on the death of William de Haverhill, he gave the rectory to the chaplain of his half brother Geoffrey of Lusignan. Arnulf, as the chaplain

1. Fishwick in attempting to correct previous writers only confuses matters. He states that several persons whose names had appeared in other lists of rectors of Preston were laymen, but gives no instance and no authority. See his *History*, 173.

2. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry III, 1232–1247, 387.

3. *Lancashire Assize Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., XLVII, 83, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, (Rolls Series), V, 329, Smith, *Records of Preston Parish Church*, 26–27.

4. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry III, 1247–1258, 471: *ibid.*, Henry III, 1258–1266, 31: Smith, *Records*, 28–30.

5. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry III, 1258–1266, 217: *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LXII, 193–194: Smith, *Records*, 30–33.

was named, was a Poitevin by birth and an ignorant, illiterate person of no manners and contemptible appearance, who acted as a buffoon to the king and his brother. It is told of him that on one occasion whilst the king and his brother and other nobles were walking in the orchard of St. Alban's he pelted them with sods, stones and green apples, squeezed the juice of unripe grapes into their eyes and behaved as if he were quite devoid of sense. The gift of this rich living to such an undeserving object excited the indignation of the chronicler Matthew Paris.[1] It was, however, only one instance of the king's custom of giving offices and sinecures to his foreign relations and their dependents, a custom which was deeply resented by his English subjects and was one of the grievances of the reign.

Of the later rectors only two call for special mention.[2] One of these was Henry de Walton, Treasurer to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, who was presented to the living in 1348. He was a mighty pluralist and through the good offices of his patron he became archdeacon of Richmond in 1349 and obtained prebends in half a dozen cathedrals.[3] The other, Ralph de Erghum, the bearer of a Preston name, was a doctor of civil law and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and became successively Bishop of Salisbury and of Bath and Wells.[4]

As we have already hinted it is doubtful whether Prestonians saw these people, except, perhaps, very occasionally. For what undoubtedly attracted them was

1. Matthew Paris describes him as 'gestu quoque, verbis et habitu, necnon corporis qualitate et quantitate despicabilis.' *Chronica Majora*, (Rolls Series), V, 329.

2. A list of the rectors and vicars, so far as they are known, will be found in the Appendix.

3. *Cal. Papal Petitions*, I, 1342–1419, 152, 282; *Cal. Papal Letters*, III, 1342–1362, 277, 290, 478, 542: *Poulton-le-Fylde*, Chetham Society, VIII, 38, 39, 205–207: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. III, 1354–1358, 132: *English Historical Review*, V, 524 et seq.

4. Smith, *Records*, 37–38.

not the cure of the souls of our forefathers but the income of the benefice, which though it varied was never despicable, as will be seen by the following figures, which should probably be multiplied by ten, or even fifteen, to give their modern equivalents. In 1222–23 it was valued at £33. 6s. 8d.,[1] but only thirty years later Matthew Paris estimated it to be worth £100 a year.[2] In the well-known assessment of church property, called the 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas,' which was made throughout the province of York in 1292, the church of Preston was set down at £66. 13s. 4d.,[3] but when a new valuation was made at different dates from 1317 onwards of those northern parishes which had been ravaged by the Scots it was rated at the reduced sum of £23. 6s. 8d.[4]

Though the subsequent variations in value belong to a later period than that with which we are now concerned, it will probably be more convenient to indicate them briefly here. When a general ecclesiastical survey was made in the year 1535 during the reign of Henry VIII, on the annexation of ecclesiastical first fruits and tenths by the crown, the rectory was valued at £41. 17s. 0d. a year, while the net income of the vicarage was £15. 4s. 0d.[5] In 1650, the parliamentary commissioners held an inquiry, when it was testified that the rectorial tithes amounted to £309. 16s. 2d., whereas the profits of the vicarage did not reach £66. 13s. 4d[6] Early in the eighteenth century Bishop Gastrell stated that in 1705 the vicar had certified the vicarage to be worth about £57, of which £4 was payable to the curate of Broughton

1. *Testa de Nevill*, (Rec. Comm.), 371.
2. *Chronica Majora*, V, 329.
3. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai*, (Rec. Comm.), 307.
4. *Ibid.*, 327.
5. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, (Rec. Comm), V, 262.
6. *Commonwealth Church Survey*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., I, 144.

chapel, but that in 1717, the year in which he was writing, the vicar confessed that it was worth above £80 a year.[1] In 1834 it was returned at £665 and its present value is £850 a year with a house.

1. *Notitia Cestriensis*, Chetham Society, O.S., XXII, 461.

CHAPTER III.

Government and Town Life in the Middle Ages.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that the principal object that Roger of Poitou had in granting the customs of Breteuil to Preston was to attract settlers and to increase the growth of the town by voluntarily limiting his arbitrary rights within certain bounds prescribed by those customs: or, to put it in another way, that the privileges conferred by the law of Breteuil, which are to be found imbedded amongst the clauses of the Preston Custumal, formed part of a colonization or settlement scheme on certain lines which had been first laid down in this country by William Fitz-Osbern.

The central idea was to grant holdings of land known as burgages, subject to a yearly rent of 12d., and to confer upon the holders of those burgages certain privileges, the chief amongst which was the limiting of the payment to be made to the lord for the breach of the law to a definite amount, which was generally a shilling—a sum which appears small but was probably the equivalent of fifteen or twenty shillings nowadays. Other clauses gave other benefits. Thus, the townsfolk of Preston were granted the right of marrying without paying a fine for the consent of the lord: the duty of serving him in time of war was placed upon a moderate basis: a year and a day was fixed as a period of limitation for claims: while if a villein managed to live in the town for that length of time without being discovered and taken back to the land from which he came, he obtained his freedom: provision was made for the administration of the goods of a man who died without a will: the townspeople were permitted to take a small toll from strangers frequenting their market: and a few other privileges were granted, all with the intention of making life more

certain and less burdensome and thus increasing the number of the inhabitants. That Preston should be selected out of the townships of Amounderness for the receipt of these privileges need occasion no surprise: for though we have no knowledge of any castle ever having been erected,[1] round which a borough and market might grow up for the profit of the lord, yet its convenient geographical position, combined with the fact that it was the place of meeting of the County Court[2] and of the Hundred Court of Amounderness,[3] and was possessed of some indefinite superiority in 1086, easily marked it out as a suitable place for the establishment of a centre of law and order.

In addition to the clauses which have been taken from the law of Breteuil, the Custumal also contains others which cannot be traced to this original. Some of these

1. Roger, however, seems to have built the castle at Penwortham just across the Ribble. *English Historical Review*, XIX, 243–245.

2. The old County Court of the sheriff is here referred to. In the last century it sat at the Sessions House at the lower end of Church Street. Its general jurisdiction was limited to forty shillings and proceedings were commenced by a 'sheriff's arrest.' By virtue of a writ called a 'justicies' it might entertain personal actions to any amount, though it was seldom used for the recovery of amounts which equalled or exceeded £10. Proceedings were issued at the offices of Messrs. Wilson and Deacon, who were the acting under-sheriffs, and the agency business done in this court by Preston solicitors was considerable. Its jurisdiction has been wholly superseded by the modern court which bears its name. Stephen, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, (11th edit.), III, 301–302.

3. Though this court only went out of existence in 1867 its memory has almost perished. It was used for the recovery of small sums under 40/-, and proceedings were commenced by the issuing of a 'wapentake' which was served by a recognised officer who demanded a fee of 8d. The last steward was Mr. Edmund Robert Harris. Though it survived the creation of the new County Court in 1847 it fell within sect. 28 of County Court Acts 1867, which enacted that from the date of that Act no action which could be brought in any County Court should thenceforth be commenced or be maintainable in any Hundred or other inferior court not being a court of record. Stephen, *Commentaries*, III, 300–301.

are to be attributed to a charter, possibly to that supposed charter, which is stated to have been granted by Henry I but is not now discoverable: others represent archaic customs the origins of which are lost in antiquity: while a considerable number deal with the procedure of the borough court. The whole is a kind of mosaic, which was probably put together by some town clerk or steward, who designed it to be both a summary of local custom and a guide or handbook for himself and his successors.[1]

It will tend to a better understanding of what follows, if we explain briefly the judicial system to which many of the clauses refer.

The court of the town was the portmoot. Though King Edgar had ordered borough courts to be held three times a year,[2] the practice of the boroughs was not always in accordance with the law, for in different places they were held once, twice or thrice a year according to the local custom. In Preston the court met three times a year, with intermediate sessions for the transaction of business which could not wait for the great portmoots. It was concerned not only with judicial business but was the governing body of the town. Every burgess 'owed suit' to the court, and, whether he had a plea pending or not was bound to attend the three important meetings.

It was presided over by the reeve, or the bailiff (clause 14), but he was chairman rather than judge. There is little doubt that originally the whole body of suitors there present would be the 'doomsmen' or judges, but the increase of the business and the number of the intermediate sittings, which the burgesses were not compelled to attend, would inevitably lead to the formation of a special class of burgesses, 'jurats,' 'goodmen'[3] or

1. *Borough Customs*, Selden Society, I, Introduction, xv.

2. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 71.

3. In 1314 and in 1333 letters patent were issued authorizing the mayor, bailiffs and 'goodmen' of Preston to lay a rate on merchandise for paving the streets. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. II, 1313–1317, 186: *ibid.*, Ed. III, 1330–1334, 408.

'lawful men' who sat on the 'four benches' of the court and deemed the dooms. We know that some such process took place in other towns. Before the Conquest there were twelve lawmen in Chester and other boroughs, and when John granted a charter to the men of Ipswich in 1200 they decided that there should be in the borough twelve chief portmen 'as there are in the other free boroughs of England.'[1] In clauses 18 and 20 of the Custumal reference is made to the 'burgesses of the Court,' while clause 32 speaks of a 'burgess of the town,' but in the absence of further evidence it would be unsafe to assume that the first phrase predicates the existence of such a class as we have been mentioning. We may however be allowed to suggest that such a body is to be found in later times in the aldermen who, in 1328, sat upon the 'bench' and took no part in the election of the mayor.

There was not at this time the carefully drawn distinction that exists nowadays between criminal courts and civil courts, or between crimes on the one hand and torts and breaches of contract on the other, and the court dealt with all cases indiscriminately and by much the same procedure. As we might expect that procedure was far removed from the trial of modern times. There was no opening of the case by skilled pleaders, and no careful sifting of evidence before a judge who explained the issue to a jury, who gave a verdict on matters of fact. One of the parties appeared and made plaint that another had committed some crime or owed him a debt, the other denied the plaint and the court then gave judgment, not as to the case, but as to the method of proof.

Proof was either by oaths or by ordeals. Sometimes (clauses 43 and 48) the defendant was allowed to clear himself by his own oath, but more frequently he had to obtain the support of certain oath-helpers or compurgators, who are sometimes called witnesses (*testes*) in the

1. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, I, 658.

records, but were not persons who gave evidence on oath as to what they had heard or seen, but friends, neighbours or possibly kinsmen, who swore that the oath of their principal was true. The rules as to the number and quality of the oath-helpers were complicated and varied in different places, but in the absence of any custom, the decision whether a man should clear himself by a 'three handed oath' or one of less or greater value would be given by the doomsmen, who probably favoured a burgess at the expense of a foreigner.

As thus stated the process seems somewhat simple, but it was involved in a good deal of formalism and precedent, and if any slip was made in saying any of the necessary words the oath was bad and the defendant suffered the penalty. In course of time it fell into discredit, but though it soon ceased to be made use of in criminal trials it still remained available in certain civil cases, until it was swept away in 1833.[1]

In connection with this method of proof, we may point out that the Custumal discloses (clause 21) the existence of an archaic form of oath, that taken by a man on his arms, which was almost certainly pagan in its origin.

Those who were adjudged the ordeal of fire or water carried a hot iron a certain number of paces or plunged their hands into boiling water, or were flung into a pool, which it was supposed would refuse to receive the guilty. These methods early fell into disrespect and were abolished by the Lateran Council in 1215.

The other ordeal, trial by duel, or trial by battle as it is more generally called, was one in which both the parties shared. It was only available when both were men, and was not popular in the towns, so that most of them obtained exemption from it at an early date. In Preston there was one limitation imposed on its exercise (clause 45), namely, that if a duel were adjudged between a knight and a burgess the knight was not permitted to

1. 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 42, s. 13.

obtain a hired champion but had to fight in person. Like the other methods of proof it tended to fall into disuse with the gradual introduction of trial by jury, but it lingered on in our law until it was finally abolished in 1819.[1]

If it was ascertained that the complainant was in the right, it was his duty, if the case were a criminal one, to carry the punishment out himself even to the extent of putting the defendant to death (clause 19), for in this period of the infancy of the law from which these customs date the duty of the community to act as executioner had not yet appeared.

If the case was a civil one the method of executing the judgment was by distress, but in certain cases (clause 22) where the defendant acknowledged the debt he was given time to pay, though a fine increasing with the delay in payment was imposed, which apparently went not to the plaintiff but to the court.

These customs, like others which are to be found in other boroughs, are interesting as showing the existence of a number of local codes of law, some parts of which continued to linger on even after the king's courts and the text books of great lawyers had evolved that body of law, which being of general usage throughout the kingdom was known as the Common Law; while they have this further interest that, as some of them were incorporated in the Common Law, we are able to trace the origin and note the subsequent development of certain parts of that Law, the history of which we should otherwise have some difficulty in understanding.

The original manuscript of the Custumal is in the municipal archives, and, according to Miss Bateson may probably be ascribed to the early fourteenth century. In preparing her recension of the original Miss Bateson also made use of a copy which is to be found amongst the

1. By 59 Geo. III, c. 46, after the case of Ashford v. Thornton, 1 Barn. and Ald., 405.

Harleian manuscripts and was made by the Cheshire antiquary, Randle Holme. The English version below is a nearly literal translation of the Latin text as printed by Miss Bateson,[1] and follows her arrangement as to paragraphs, which it should be said do not appear in the original but have been made for the sake of clearness.

These are the liberties of Preston in Amounderness.

1. That they may have a Gild Merchant with hanse and other customs and liberties belonging to that gild.[2]

2. That no one who does not belong to that Gild shall do any trade in the aforesaid town except with the consent of the Burgesses.

3. If any man's villein shall have remained in the aforesaid town and held land in it and been in the aforesaid Gild and hanse and in scot and lot with the same Burgesses for a year and a day, thence-forward he may not be reclaimed by his lord but may remain as a free man in the same town.[3]

4. The burgesses of Preston in Amounderness shall have soke and sake, toll and team, (and) Infangthef, and be free throughout all our land from toll, lastage, passage, pontage and stallage, from Lenegeld and Danegeld and Gathewite and all other customary payments and exactions throughout all our land and jurisdiction as well in England as in our other possessions. And no sheriff may interfere in the Borough of Preston in Amounderness concerning any plea or plaint or dispute or any other matter belonging to the aforesaid town except the pleas of the crown.[4]

1. *English Historical Review*, XV, 496 et seq.

2. 'Hanse' was the right to exact money requisitions from the brethren of the Gild as well as from non-gildsmen living in the town.

3. A 'villein' was a serf who had a small holding and helped to cultivate the demesne lands of his lord. To be in 'scot and lot' was to be a 'ratepayer' or to bear one's share of local taxation.

4. 'Soke and sake, toll and team' were 'general words' giving the right to hold a court. 'Infangthef' was the right to hang a thief caught within the jurisdiction. 'Toll' was a payment for entering

5. If anyone shall be desirous of becoming a Burgess, let him come into the Court and give twelve pence to the reeve and take his Burgage from the bailiffs; afterwards he shall give the bailiff's servant a penny so that the latter may give evidence that he has become a Burgess in Court.[1]

6. Also when the Burgess shall have received his Burgage and it shall be unbuilt upon, the bailiff shall order him to build his Burgage within 40 days upon pain of forfeiture, and if he shall not have built it he shall be amerced 12d.

7. Also when any Burgess claims against another that a Burgage is his and shall say that the right is his, and the tenant who holds it shall say that he has held the Burgage without challenge for several years and days, and expressly for one year and one day, and shall say that he has thereon his reeve and two or more neighbours as witnesses, he shall prove in court by means of those very persons, on oath, that he has thus held it. So he shall prove it in court by means of them, and shall hold it without any contradiction of the claimant where the

1. In other boroughs which obtained their customs from the law of Breteuil a 12d. burgage rent is generally met with. In Preston there is only mention of the 12d. payment on entering into possession.

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certain boroughs or exposing goods for sale: 'lastage,' a toll or payment exacted in markets and fairs, perhaps for buying and selling goods by measure: 'passage,' a payment for passing over land or water: 'pontage,' a levy for repairing bridges or for crossing over them: 'stallage,' a payment for the privilege of erecting a stall in a market. 'Lenegeld' should be 'levegeld,' a payment made to levelookers by strangers for permission to trade (Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 27, n. 3), and 'gathewite' be 'gaywite,' a payment made for maintaining watch and ward (*ibid.*, Glossary, II, 405). 'Danegeld' needs no explanation.

The last sentence gave the borough court jurisdiction in all cases except those reserved by the crown, which, in Henry II's day were homicide, mayhem, robbery, arson, and rape. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, II, 453–457.

According to Miss Bateson this and the preceding clauses form no part of the law of Breteuil, but are taken from a royal charter.

claimant has been for one day and one year within the seas of England.[1]

8. Also if any Burgess makes plaint of aught and the defendant shall have denied it, the complainant by judgment of the Court shall name two witnesses and shall have one of them (present) at the day and at the term; and he may have any lawful man as a witness and put the defendant Burgess to his oath; the defendant against a Burgess shall be put to the three handed oath with his peers.[2]

9. Also the amercement in our Court shall not exceed 12d., except for the withholding of toll . . . the amercement shall be 12 shillings.[3]

10. Also a Burgess need not come to more than three portmoots a year unless he is engaged in a plea, but if he does not come to every great portmoot he shall be amerced 12d.

11. The Bailiff of the Court shall collect the ferm of the lord king at the four terms of the year and he shall go once for the ferm and on the second occasion he may pull down the Burgess's door if he please. And the Burgess may not replace his door until he shall have paid his debt except by the consent of the bailiff.[4]

1. This clause gave a special protection to those who had had seisin of their property officially delivered to them before the borough court, as they were not called upon to prove their ownership, but only to swear with the reeve and two lawful men of the court that they had been in possession for a year and a day. *Borough Customs*, II, Introd., cxv, cxvi.

2. The 'three handed oath' means the oath of the defendant and two compurgators. Cf. clauses 40 and 48.

3. Cf. clause 28.

4. The 'ferm' or 'farm' included a variety of payments made to the king, such as rent of demesne lands, profits from courts of justice and compositions for the hospitality which he could exact when on a progress. These were collected from the shire by the sheriff. It was the aim of the boroughs to get their contribution assessed at a fixed sum and to exempt themselves from the visits and exactions of the sheriff.

12. Also if a Burgess shall buy any goods in large or small quantities and shall have given earnest and he who sold shall regret his bargain he shall give double the buyer's earnest. But if the buyer shall handle the goods he shall either have them or five shillings from the seller (as rue bargain).

13. Also if a Burgess has drink for sale he shall sell according to the assize made by the Burgesses unless it be offered by the tun.[1]

14. Also a Burgess need not come to the Bailiff after sunset to answer any claim if he shall be unwilling, unless the claim be made by a stranger.[2]

15. Also a Burgess shall lend his lord of his goods exposed for sale and the lord shall pay him within 40 days; but if he shall not have paid him, the Burgess shall lend him nothing more until he does pay him.

16. Also no one can be a Burgess unless he has a Burgage with a frontage of 12 feet.

17. Also if a Burgess shall have sold for more than the assize (prescribes), he shall be amerced 12d. and the buyer nothing.[3]

18. Also the Burgesses of the aforesaid Court have the right to be tried by duel and by (the ordeals of) fire and water.

19. Also if any one shall have been arrested for robbery or other crime and condemned to death the prosecutor shall execute the sentence.

20. Also the Burgess of the aforesaid Court shall take for his toll for a cart (load) 2d., and for a horse load 1d.,

1. Cf. clauses 17 and 31.
2. Cf. clause 34.
3. Cf. clauses 13 and 31.

Preston succeeded in doing this in the reign of Henry II when the ferm was fixed at £9 but subsequently raised to £15 a year. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 43.

In this clause the word obviously refers to the rents of the burgages, which formed part of the town rent or ferm.

and for a pack on a man's back ½d., and for a man's load ½d., for a horse that has been sold 2d., for an ox or cow 1d., for five sheep 1d., for five pigs 1d.

21. Also if a Burgess wounds another and they shall be willing to agree, the friends set between the parties shall take 4d. per thumb length in the case of a covered wound and 8d. in the case of an exposed wound and he shall pay whatever the wounded man shall be able to prove that he has lost through the annoyance of his wound: and in like manner he shall pay what the wounded man has given to his leech for the healing of the wound. And he shall bring his arms to the wounded man and shall swear upon the arms, that if he himself had been wounded and the other had done such things to him, he himself would take what he offers to the other, if his kinsfolk should have given their consent and approval.[1]

22. §1. Also if a Burgess makes plaint of another burgess that he owes him a debt and the other shall have acknowledged the debt, the reeve shall order the latter to give a pledge to the plaintiff and he shall give the pledge and then the reeve shall order him to pay the debt within eight days upon pain of forfeiture; but if he shall not have paid the debt he shall be amerced 8d. the first week, 12d. the second week and so each week until he shall pay the debt. §2. But if he shall have disputed the debt and the plaintiff has witnesses, he shall deny it by three handed oaths and if he shall have made the oath, the plaintiff shall be amerced 12d.; and if the defendant shall have come with his oath helpers to make his oath and the plaintiff shall not have come, the defendant shall be quit and the plaintiff amerced; and if the plaintiff shall not have been able to come and some one be set in his place before the court, the latter may receive the

1. This clause reveals the primitive conception of an assault as a matter to be settled between the kindred of the parties by feud or composition. It was only gradually displaced by the growth of the idea that an assault was a breach of the peace.

defendant's oath. §3. And that in no plaint for any offence shall the burgess of the aforesaid Court be amerced more than 12d., unless he shall have been challenged to trial by duel and he be ordered (to fight) a duel. But if he is ordered (to fight) a duel and pledges be given he shall be amerced 40 shillings.

23. Also if a Burgess shall marry his daughter or granddaughter to any one he may marry her without the license of anyone.

24. Also a Burgess may make an oven upon his land and take a furnage and for a quarter of flour (the furnage shall be) one halfpenny weight of bread and he whose flour or grain it shall be shall find wood to heat the oven.[1]

25. Also the Burgesses shall not go to a mill or oven or kiln, except to such as they shall please.[2]

26. If anyone shall have burnt another's kiln and the kiln had one door he shall give 40d. for the kiln and if it had two doors half a mark.[3]

27. Also if any Burgess by the common counsel of the neighbours shall have travelled on the town's business their (*sic*) expenses shall be repaid to them when they shall have paid them.[4]

28. Also if anyone shall have come into our town, who ought to have paid toll, and he shall have withheld it beyond the market day, he shall be amerced 11d.

29. Also a stranger may not go shares in any bargain with the Burgesses of our town.[5]

1. The 'furnage' was the baker's portion and was his fee. Cf. the 'multure' of the miller.

2. The 'kiln' mentioned here is a drying house for grain. In many towns and manors the inhabitants were compelled to have their corn ground at the lord's mill and their bread baked at the lord's oven.

3. A 'mark' was thirteen shillings and fourpence.

4. It is possible that we ought to read *redierint* instead of *reddiderint*, when the translation would be 'their expenses shall be paid to them when they shall have returned.'

5. According to some customs a burgess was allowed to go shares in a bargain at the making of which he was present.

30. §1. Also when a Burgess shall wish to sell his burgage his next of kin has a better right than anyone else to buy that burgage. §2. But when he shall have sold it and has no other burgage and shall have given the other seisin he shall give 4d. for permission to leave (the town). §3. But if he has another burgage he shall give nothing.

31. Also if a Burgess is to be amerced in respect of bread and ale, the first, second, and third times he shall be amerced 12d., but the fourth time he shall pay the largest fine he is able to do or go to the cuckstool.[1]

32. Also if a Burgess of the town shall have died suddenly his wife and his heirs shall have quiet possession of all his chattels and lands. So that neither his lord nor the justices may lay hands on the houses or the chattels of the deceased, unless he shall have been publicly excommunicated, but they are (to be) spent in alms on the advice of the priest and the neighbours. The wife of the deceased may marry whomsoever she pleases.[2]

33. Also if anyone claims a debt from anyone before the reeve and if the debtor shall have refused to pay, the bailiff shall pay the plaintiff his debt from the purse of the lord king and levy a distress on the chattels of the

1. This refers to breaches of the 'assize' of bread and ale which dealt with the retail sale of these commodities. An 'assize' we should now call an act or statute, and the one which appears in the Statutes of the Realm prescribed the pillory, and not the cuckstool, as a punishment for repeated breaches of the assize.

2. Cf. clause 47, which was probably the original version. The meaning seems to be that in cases of intestacy the wife and the heirs had to distribute the whole or a part of the estate in alms.

The 'justices' who are referred to in this clause, as well as the 'justices' mentioned in clause 43, were probably servants of the lord and not of the town. See post 52.

other to compel him to pay or he shall take possession of his house.[1]

34. Also a Burgess shall not receive (*i.e.*, have to answer) any claim from the reeve on a market day unless the claim be made by a stranger.

35. Also a Burgess pays no through-toll.[2]

36. Also a Burgess has common of pasture everywhere excepting in cornfields, meadows and hays.[3]

37. Also if a Burgess strike the reeve or the reeve a burgess in Court, he who is convicted shall be punished by the loss of his hand. (*Literally*, shall be in mercy in respect of his fist).

38. Also if the reeve strike a burgess out of Court he shall be amerced to the amount of his rent.[4]

39. Also if a Burgess strike the reeve out of Court he shall be fined 40 shillings.

40. Also if a Burgess slanders another and confesses it, he shall pay 12d. If he denies it, he shall clear himself by his oath alone against the witnesses; if (it is uttered) outside the Court (he shall pay) nothing.[5]

41. Also if anyone shall have been arrested bearing false coin, the reeve shall give the bad money to the lord

1. The meaning of this is, that if a burgess owed a debt to a stranger merchant, the debt was paid out of the communal funds, in order that the borough might not suffer at the hands of the merchant's community, and was afterwards recovered from the debtor by distress or seizure of his house.

When the king was the lord of the borough, 'the king's purse' would be the phrase used to describe the communal purse. At Northampton the market was called 'the king's market.'

2. For 'through-toll,' see Coulson and Forbes, *Law of Waters*, (3rd edit.) 616–620, and Webb, *English Local Government*, II, 284, and III, 702.

3. A 'hay' was a piece of forest land hedged off for hunting purposes.

4. There is an alternative meaning, namely, that the reeve is to be punished by the loss of his house.

5. This follows Miss Bateson's suggestion that, instead of *convincat*, we should read *conviciatur*.

king, however much there is, and it shall be charged in the render of the ferm as good, and he shall deliver the man to the lord king for judgment and the sergeants who took him shall have his clothes.

42. Also regrators are not allowed to buy anything on a market day to sell by way of regrating until vespers be rung, nor on other days of the week, until that which he buys shall have been in the town for a night.[1]

43. §1. Also the aforesaid Burgesses shall never be compelled to go on an expedition or foray, except with the lord himself, unless they are able to return on the same day. §2. If anyone be summoned when the justices of the town shall be on an expedition and does not go and admits that he heard (the summons) he shall pay 12d.; if he denies that he heard the order, he shall clear himself by his own oath alone. §3. But if he shall have an excuse as, for instance, that he was on fortification duty or that his wife was lying in childbed or other reasonable excuse he shall not pay. §4. But if it is to go with the lord king in person he shall not be permitted to have any excuse.

44. It is also a custom of the borough that no Burgess ought to be arrested on a charge by the lord or the reeve if he has sufficient sureties.[2]

45. Also in the case of any claim made against a burgess by any knight, whoever he may be, if trial by duel is ordered between the Burgess and the knight, the

1. A 'regrator' was a man who bought to sell again, a middleman. 'Vespers,' or evensong, is one of the canonical hours and service commenced at 5 p.m. in the winter and 6 p.m. in the summer. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, 149.

2. In the 12th and 13th centuries it was not common to keep men in prison until their appearance in court: they were generally 'mainperned,' or, as we should say nowadays, bailed, though there was originally some difference between 'mainprise' and bail. The exceptions were cases of homicide, of offences against the Forest Law and of imprisonment by order of the king or his chief justiciar. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, II, 584–590.

knight may not find a substitute unless a reason be found why he should not fight.

46. Also if the reeve summons any Burgess by anyone except his known sergeant and he shall not come, he shall not pay anything.

47. Also the justice may never lay hands on the house or chattels of a dead man.[1]

48. Also if anyone shall call a married woman a harlot and she makes outcry and witnesses are present, he shall clear himself by a single handed oath, and if he be unable to make the oath, he shall pay three shillings; (and) he shall make this reparation to her to whom he said it, (namely) he shall take himself by the nose and say that he has lied and there shall be concord. There is the same procedure in the case of a widow.

This is the law of Preston in Amounderness which they have from the Bretonic law.[2]

By collocating different clauses of this document we are able to sketch in vague outline the constitution of the town and to set forth how it was governed. We find that reference is made to a reeve (*pretor* or *prefectus*), bailiffs, sergeants, and certain persons called justices or justiciars. In the reeve and the bailiffs we see the representatives of the popular element in the borough. The former presided at the meetings of the portmoot or borough court and granted burgages, while the bailiffs were his officers, and acted in an administrative capacity, collecting the toll and the ferm, and enforcing the orders of the court. In all probability the constitution of the town did not vary in any material particular from that of every small village or manor, which was in process of becoming that which in later days was called a borough. In Domesday the reeve and the bailiff were well known figures. The reeve was the headman on the estate, looking after his fellow villeins, and acting as the representa-

1. Cf. clause 32.

2. An error for the law of Breteuil (*Lex Britolii*).

tive of the tenants in that system of common cultivation which is known as the 'open field system,' while the bailiff was the steward or estate agent of the owner, who saw that all 'week work' and 'boon work' was duly performed and that all dues whether in money or kind were duly paid and received. In process of time, as self government grew and as the lord's rights were gradually bought out for an annual sum, the bailiff while still looking after the land and collecting the rents or other customary payments, would insensibly become the servant of the villagers, until it would become necessary for the lord to appoint other officers to look after his interests. In some such way is to be explained the appearances of the justices or justiciars, who claimed all escheated property for their master and led the townsfolk on expeditions or forays, when they were called upon to perform such service.

The bailiffs, with their servants, the sergeants, remained municipal officers from the time of the Custumal until they were finally dislodged by the general reform of municipal corporations which took place in 1835.[1] When the writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the burgesses in 1292 to try the issues previously mentioned,[2] the bailiffs, Adam, son of Ralph,

1. For the sergeants, see clauses 5 and 41 of the Custumal. In later days one of the bailiffs and one of the sergeants were elected or presented to their offices by the elective body of Twenty-four at the same time as the mayor and were known as the town's bailiff and town's sergeant or sub-bailiff. The other bailiff and sergeant were appointed by the mayor and known as the mayor's bailiff and mayor's sergeant or sergeant at mace. The holding of the office of bailiff was important as it conferred a right of admission to the close ranks of the corporation. The mayor's sergeant took an oath to make arrests and proclamations, and serve all manner of process, and do all manner of executions and all other things which should appertain to his office, in such manner and form as the 'Sarjeant of the Kay of the Citty of London' did and executed. Kuerden, *A Brief Description of the Burrough and Town of Preston*, 40. Both sergeants were apparently attached to the Court Leet. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 147, 173 and 193.

2. Ante, 19–20.

and Robert son of Roger, appeared to defend their town, and in an inquiry held at the same time as to the rights of the burgesses and of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, to a fishery in the Ribble, we find the town again represented by the same persons.[1] We have also a deed executed in 1313 conveying certain land on the New Moor, and at the head of the list of witnesses appear the bailiffs of Preston.[2] If it were safe to infer from these facts that the bailiffs were the chief officers of the town at this period, we should be able to fix to a year the institution of the office of mayor, for it was to the mayor, bailiffs and goodmen of Preston that Edward II in 1314 granted the right to lay a tax on merchandise to enable them to raise money to pave their streets.[3]

It is generally agreed that the original introduction of this office into England was due to French influence, but how it was dovetailed into the existing system of municipal government is unknown. By some authorities the appearance of the mayor is connected with the *firma burgi*, the 'ferm' or farm of the borough which was the collective total of the payments due to the king as lord of the borough. It was the duty of the shire-reeve or sheriff to look after the king's possessions in the country, to act as steward of his estates and to see to their upkeep, and on the other hand to collect all the rents and dues that were owing in respect of them, which rents and dues were known as the 'ferm' of the shire. Included under this head, also, were the profits from the courts that were held and the composition that was paid for not having to support the king and his household on their journeyings to and fro. It was customary to debit the sheriff with a fixed sum for the 'ferm' and to allow him to exact what he could over and above this amount. Many boroughs in early times had had their contributions fixed at a

1. *Plac. de Quo Warr.*, (Rec. Comm.), 387.
2. Abram, *Memorials*, 5.
3. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. II, 1313–1317, 186.

definite amount, but as the sheriff collected this he took the opportunity of wringing more out of the townspeople. It was the object, therefore, of every borough to obtain the privileges of collecting the 'ferm' for itself and of turning the sheriff out of the portmoot, and it has been suggested that the obtaining of these privileges coincides with the appearance of the mayor.[1]

On the other hand, it may possibly be that the reeve of Preston developed into or was appointed the mayor, but though we know that the mayoralty first appears in the city of London, the spreading of the office in England is so obscure and there is such a complete absence of evidence for our own town, that we are quite unable to say how we acquired our chief magistrate.

In 1328 we find a still further development, as, in addition to the mayor and bailiffs, mention is also made of aldermen and of a body called the twelve of the commonalty. Consideration of these, however, must be left to another chapter.[2]

The town was governed by these officials and by the burgesses assembled together in the portmoot. In process of time, as has already been stated, it is probable that the business of the town was left to be transacted by a few of the burgesses, who became the governing body, and that 'all the whole commonalty' was only summoned

1. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, I, 218n, and Ramsay Muir, *History of Liverpool*, 34, 36. Professor Muir's derivation of the office of the mayor at Liverpool from that of the *major ballivus* seems doubtful and certainly requires further proof.

Before the granting of the charter by Henry II to the burgesses of Preston they paid a 'ferm' of £9 a year. In addition to the sum of 100 marks which they proffered for this charter, the 'ferm' of the borough was increased to £15 a year. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 42, 43, 413. This was purchased under the Commonwealth in 1650 and re-purchased after the Restoration. Baines, *History of Lancashire*, (ed. by Croston), V, 301n. and 309, and the *White Book* of the Preston corporation under May 6th, 1650.

2. Chapter IV.

on occasions for the special purpose of approving or rejecting the proposals that were laid before them.

We talk of local government nowadays, but we scarcely appreciate how widely it differs from the original from which it has come. In the Middle Ages towns were only loosely connected with the central government, and were to a large extent independent communities. It is true that they never attained to the same autonomous position that was reached by some of the cities of the continent—it was a good thing for England that they did not, for what their history might have gained in picturesqueness the country at large would have lost in cohesion and strength,—but, nevertheless, they were far more self contained and far less subject to outside forces than they are at the present time.

Though they did not stand outside the royal justice yet they were almost a law unto themselves. Before the law that was common to the whole of the realm was formed, the inhabitants lived under a local law, which they administered in their own court and altered or added to as they pleased. Gradually the rights of the king and of the lord of the town[1] were limited or were transferred to themselves by successive charters, until by degrees they excluded from their gates the steward of the lord, the bailiff of the hundred, the sheriff of the county and the tax gatherer of the king. They decided who should be admitted to dwell within the town and on what terms and conditions the new comers should be allowed to possess acre strips in the common fields, to pasture cattle on the wastes, or to carry on a business and to share in those trading privileges which had been conferred upon them by the grant of a Gild Merchant.[2] Their constitution was not given them by statute but had grown up from the first beginnings of things, and who was to hold

1. As we have already shown these were frequently one and the same person.

2. See Chapter IV.

the office of mayor, or bailiff, or alderman, or jurat, or capital burgess was not settled by national legislation, but by local customs or ordinances. 'Two hundred and twenty-six burghers sat in Parliament beside the seventy-four knights of the shire: and each borough freely decided for itself what the qualifications of its members should be, and by what manner of election they should be chosen, at a time when for country folks all such matters were irrevocably settled by the king's law.'[1] When we consider these facts, when in addition we find boroughs entering into negotiations and making treaties with one another in the interests of their inhabitants, and when we observe how loosely they were knit into the general framework of the central government we are almost tempted to regard them as states within the state.

We have to remember too that local government then differed in another important particular from its modern prototype. Town councils nowadays have a staff of officials and an army of workpeople who carry out their orders and do the necessary work of the borough. In the Middle Ages there were few paid functionaries and the inhabitants themselves kept the peace of the town, guarded it from its enemies, paved its streets, repaired its walls and built its bridges. They were their own police force and their own soldiers: they were bound to join in the hue and cry against malefactors and to provide themselves with military weapons according to their wealth as prescribed by the Assize of Arms.[2] Unfortunately these weapons would seem to have been used by the burgesses not only against the king's enemies in times of war but against each other in times of peace, as we observe that Edward I in return for the services which they had rendered in Scotland granted pardons to several Prestonians 'for the death' of their neighbours.[3] It would be

1. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, I, 4–5.
2. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 153–156, 370–373 and 374–375.
3. *Calendars of Patent Rolls*, passim.

grossly unfair to judge of the condition of the town from records of this nature, but certainly they are so numerous that we are inclined to think that our forefathers were a somewhat turbulent and lawless people.

On more than one occasion the mayor, bailiffs, and goodmen of the borough were empowered to lay a tax on the various goods that were brought into the town and to devote the proceeds to paving the streets,[1] but this cannot have abrogated the personal liability of the burgesses, for so late as 1654 the Court Leet jury desired that the clay pits close to the highway on the Peel Moor should 'be filled up and made eaven by people from everie house within this Towne, at the appointment of Mr. Maior and his brethren, as they in theire discretion shall thinke meete, when the weather may be convenient for the same.'[2] Nowadays we pay our rates and record our votes at municipal elections, but in the olden times, as we see, the burgesses took a more active, personal, and practical part in the government of their town and thus acquired that experience which was to stand them in good stead when they were called to the councils of the nation.

The town itself would differ but little from the rest of the villages that were to be found scattered about the Hundred of Amounderness. If the art of brick making had ever been known here it had been lost, and the inhabitants lived in wooden houses, with roofs of thatch or reed, congregated together in narrow streets and weinds close to the church and the market place.[3] More will be said in the next chapter, which deals with the Gild Merchant, as to the trade of the town, but we may

1. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. I, 1313–1317, 186 : *ibid.*, Ed. III, 1327–1330, 270 : *ibid.*, Ed. III, 1330–1334, 408.

2. For this and a similar instance, see Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 26 and 42.

3. Thorold Rogers, *Economic Interpretation of History*, (2nd edit.), 279.

anticipate to some extent by saying that down to the end of this period the bulk of the inhabitants were mainly engaged in agriculture and in tilling the land that surrounded the house covered area of the borough, while such trade as was carried on was probably small in quantity and merely supplied the wants of the burgesses and of those who came from the country round about the town to the market which was held there. A different state of affairs would prevail when they held their two annual fairs in the months of August and October, for these would attract traders from a larger area, who would traffic not only in the commodities of every day life, but in luxuries also, like those spices which were so eagerly sought after in order to make more palatable the winter food of salted meat. The reputation of these Preston fairs was so widespread that we find that in 1282, the Abbot of Chester sent his servants to one of them to buy oxen and other animals.[1]

Like the rest of Lancashire, Preston suffered severely from the misgovernment of the reign of Edward II, from the invasions of the Scots,[2] and finally from the Black Death. A dispute that took place between Henry de Walton, rector of Preston and archdeacon of Richmond, and Adam de Kirkham, dean of Amounderness, as to the sums owing to the former in respect of the probate of wills and the administration of the goods of persons who died intestate, affords us some information as to the ravages of the epidemic in this part of the country. The record states that the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen was vacant[3] for eight weeks during the time of the pestilence and that between the 8th September, 1349, and the 11th of January, 1350, three thousand persons died in the

1. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. I, 1281–1292, 32.

2. 'Dicunt etiam quod propter destructionem factam per Scottos . . . jacent in eadem parochia terrae vastae et incultae . . . . *Inquisitio Nonarum*, (Rec. Comm.), 37.

3. *i.e.*, without a warden or incumbent.

parish of Preston, and a total of 13,180 within the ten parishes therein mentioned.[1] The figures given are obviously round numbers and are undoubtedly exaggerated by panic, while it must be borne in mind that arithmetical accuracy is not the strong point of mediæval documents.[2]

There are indications, however, that in spite of these misfortunes Preston continued to grow and was at this time the most important town in the county. These indications are few and far between, but such as they are they may be collected here. The best evidence of the wealth of the town is to be found in its taxation. The returns show that in 1227 Preston paid in tallage fifteen marks, while Lancaster paid fourteen marks, Liverpool eleven marks seven shillings and eightpence, and the 'town' of West Derby seven marks four shillings and fourpence.[3] Again, when parliament in 1332 drew a distinction between boroughs and counties and granted the king a tenth from the former and a fifteenth from the latter Preston was differentiated from the Wapentake of Amounderness and paid as a borough, the record also showing that it still retained the position which it held just over a century before.[4] The trade must have grown also, as in 1349 Edward III granted to the burgesses the privilege of using a seal for the purpose of taking obligations and recognizances under the Statute Merchant.[5] Finally, a commission to inquire into the stoppages in the passages of the Ribble, which injured the fishery and impeded the traffic, shows us that Preston was a port.[6]

1. A. G. Little in *English Historical Review*, V, 524 et seq.

2. See, for example, the instance given by Sir James Ramsay, *ibid.*, XXV, 307.

3. Hardwick, *History*, 353.

4. *Exchequer Lay Subsidy Roll*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., II, 54, 72. Cf. also for 1342, Smith, *Records*, 8.

5. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. III, 1348–1350, 266.

6. Fishwick, *History*, 32.

Without a considerable knowledge of mediæval history it is difficult to appreciate how much more fully and closely religious affairs were woven into the fabric of daily existence in the days we are speaking of than in modern times. The church was intimately connected with men's lives from their baptism to the moment when it administered the last sacred rites to them as they lay on their death beds. There was scarcely an event or an act in the whole of their commonplace existence in which it had not a share, or in which it was not either expressly or tacitly recognized. In addition to looking after their spiritual welfare and acting as their moral and religious director, it educated them, it wrote their books, it married them, it sanctioned their business transactions, it relieved their poverty, it provided many of their amusements, it dictated their holidays and furnished their legal and medical advisers and some of their members of parliament.[1] Nowadays we draw hard and fast distinctions between civil and ecclesiastical matters, between things which belong to the church and those which pertain to the state. In the Middle Ages, this line of division was more difficult to trace, for the power and authority of the church was so universally admitted and so all pervading that its claim to interfere in civil and political affairs was only gradually contested.

What little learning our forefathers had they obtained from the priest or from some one who was licensed to teach by the ecclesiastical authority of the district, and the instruction they received was not infrequently given within some little side chapel of that parish church within whose walls they confessed and saw the mass solemnized and within whose precincts they were buried. We obtain our knowledge of the first schoolmasters of Preston

1. In 1404 a parliament was held at Coventry and the writs summoning it forbade lawyers to be chosen as members. It was known as the *Lay* or *Unlearned Parliament*, which clearly shows that lawyers were clerics.

from the records which certify that they were licensed to occupy their positions by the archdeacon of Richmond, within whose spiritual jurisdiction Preston was then situate, and when in the latter half of the fifteenth century a pious member of the Hoghton family founded the chantry of the Virgin and left certain lands whose rents were to support a priest, who should celebrate mass for the souls of the founder and her husband at an altar in the church, we observe with interest that as part of his duties he was also to keep a free grammar school *there* for the children of Preston.[1]

When they had grown to manhood the church became as much a centre of municipal life for them as the moot hall or the market place. It was their fortress in time of danger, their warehouse in time of peace; and they stored their arms in its steeple and their goods and merchandise in the body of the church itself. Markets were held in the churchyard and probably overflowed into the sacred precincts, which would resound with the huckstering and chaffering of buyer and seller. If one of them had broken the law, the altar was a place of sanctuary for him from which he might safely depart after he had abjured the realm. It was in the church that the 'Four and twenty gentlemen,' who formed the Select Vestry of the parish of Preston, assembled every Easter to transact their business, and we may hazard the guess that the portmoot of the borough met there also occasionally. Before the moot hall was built the burgesses would gather round the market cross or assemble in the churchyard but when the weather was wet and stormy it is probable that the meetings would be held in the nave of the church, which was the largest building in the town. This use of the church for secular purposes is somewhat horrifying to us with our modern notions of the sanctity of ecclesiastical buildings, but it caused no shock to the feelings of

1. *Lancashire Chantries*, Chetham Society, O.S., LX, 205–207.

the most pious in the Middle Ages, for they saw in their church a sort of parish hall, a centre and a meeting place of social and commercial as well as of religious life.[1]

But even if the burgesses met elsewhere to transact the town's affairs, it is certain at any rate that the connection between the church and the town council was extremely close. When we meet in 1645 with the first records of the 'Four and twenty gentlemen,' we find that the town was represented amongst them by eight aldermen and that the mayor always presided over their deliberations.[2] Again, when the new mayor had been chosen he and his predecessor, with the members of the council and others of the town, went in procession to the door of the church where a quaint ceremonial was gone through, the retiring mayor making a little speech in rhyme and handing over his staff of office to the new holder of the office.[3] The corporation also seems to have attended church not only on state occasions but regularly on all Sundays and holidays, and in 1607, or possibly earlier, certain pews were set apart for the exclusive use of its members. They neglected, however, to make use of them and sat in other parts of the church, which drew the sarcastic comment from a Court Leet jury of the seventeenth century that it seemed strange to them 'that order makers should not be order keepers.'[4]

In addition to being the site of a market the churchyard was frequently used as a primitive theatre. A stage was erected against the side of the church, where on some saint's day,—one of those 'holy days' which have lost their high estate and become our 'holidays'—the clergy

1. Thorold Rogers, *Economic Interpretation of History*, 144: Green, *Town Life*, I, 153–156.

2. Post, 299.

3. *Bellingham Diary*, (ed. by Hewitson), 21: *Rawstorne Diary* (extracts published in *Preston Guardian* from January to March, 1909), October 12th, 1684.

4. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 64 and note 1.

would stage manage a performance in which would be represented certain scenes from the history of the saint whose life they were commemorating, or there would be shown a Mystery play, which dealt in a similar way with the life of Jesus Christ, or possibly a Morality play,[1] which in the form of an allegory conveyed instruction blended with a rough kind of humour. Here, too, would be held the church ales—the mediæval equivalent for a bazaar—to which would be brought the hogshead of beer given to the church in order that money might be obtained by selling its contents to those who were willing to buy them.[2] It may be objected that we have no definite knowledge that these things actually happened in the yard of the parish church of Preston. That is unfortunately true, because the existing records do not go back to such early times, but these and similar incidents are so commonly found in so many towns, that we feel justified in assuming that they occurred here also.

In addition to the ordinary secular clergy who served the parish church, there were others who lived together in a community and being subject to a definite rule (*regula*) of life were called regulars. Of these there were three well known kinds, monks, friars and canons. The first named were not often found in the towns, as they generally set up their monasteries in country districts, where they devoted their time to the performance of religious observances and to farming the surrounding land or raising sheep; but, as we have seen, a conventual establishment of this kind did exist for a short period at Tulketh, just outside the limits of the borough, until it was removed to Furness.[3]

Of the two other orders the friars, however, always erected their houses in populous places. The explana-

1. Such as *Everyman*, which was revived recently and played in Preston and other towns.

2. Bateson, *Mediæval England*, 357.

3. Ante, 11–12.

tion is that their ideal was a less selfish one than that of the monks. The latter separated themselves from the world and its temptations in order to secure their own salvation : the friars, on the other hand, went out into the world to combat its temptations and to secure the salvation of others. And so while the ruins of monasteries are still to be seen in beautiful situations by the side of flowing streams, the houses of the friars have disappeared and been swallowed up by the subsequent growth of those towns near to which they erected their friaries. We shall have something more to say later of the Grey Friars who came to Preston.[1] At present we will content ourselves with observing that the relations between the ordinary clergy and these others were not always of a cordial nature. The parish priest regarded them as interlopers, who interfered with his control over his parishioners and who intercepted some of those offerings, which should have gone to benefit himself or his church. On what terms the successive rectors and vicars of the parish church and the wardens of the friary stood in Preston we have no knowledge, we can only hope that instead of glancing distrust and suspicion from the corners of their eyes they united to fight the forces of evil.

1. Post, 293.

CHAPTER IV.

The Gild Merchant.[1]

Hitherto we have purposely avoided any detailed account of the Gild Merchant of Preston and its periodical celebrations in order that we might collect all that was known on this subject and deal with it, as a whole, in one chapter. But before proceeding with this task, it will probably be advisable to give a brief account of Gilds Merchant in general and to describe these institutions as they existed all over England, in order that we may have a general knowledge of the class, as a preliminary to the separate study of the local instance.

Though there were associations and brotherhoods in Anglo-Saxon times which were known as Gilds, there is no record of the existence of a Gild Merchant in England before the Norman Conquest,[2] but, soon after that event, in the municipal charters granted by Henry I, Henry II and their successors, we find, amongst other privileges and immunities, a clause conferring upon the inhabitants of a town the right to have a Gild Merchant. For instance, in those first four clauses of the Preston Custumal, which are supposed to be part of a now lost charter, it is declared that the burgesses may have a Gild Merchant, with hanse and other customs belonging to that Gild; that no one who did not belong to that Gild should carry on trade without the burgesses' consent,

1. Though the word Gild is spelt in various ways in the local records, the spelling which has been generally adopted is 'Guild.' We have preferred, however, the spelling given above as showing clearly the origin of the word, which is the Anglo-Saxon 'gild,' meaning a payment or contribution to a common fund. This emphasizes the fact that the principal obligation of a gildsman was 'to be in scot and lot.' Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 53, 60.

2. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 2.

and that if any one's villein remained in the town and held land in it, and was in the Gild and hanse and in scot and lot with the burgesses for a year and a day, he should not be reclaimed by the lord, but might remain there a free man. These clauses are a typical example of those by which a Gild Merchant was granted and they are to be met with in nearly identical terms in the charters of other towns.

We have next to ask what was conferred by this grant of a Gild Merchant to a borough. The answer is 'a concession of the exclusive right of trading within the borough,' with the right to form 'a department of town administration whose duty it was to maintain and regulate the trade monopoly.'[1] After the Norman Conquest trade became of more importance owing to the increased intercourse with the continent and to the strong rule of the Norman kings, which must have contrasted favourably with the anarchy of the last days of the native monarchs. Foreign trade thus growing, internal trade no doubt increased, while it would be still further stimulated by the Norman policy of creating towns. The great object of granting a Gild Merchant was to foster and encourage this infant trade in privileged localities.

So much has been written about trade in mediæval towns, and the importance of Gilds Merchant in contributing to the growth of the boroughs, that it may be well to utter a word of warning here against the danger of overestimating alike the importance of the trade and the bodies which existed to regulate it. In the Middle Ages the bulk of the population of England was engaged in agriculture, and even those who lived in towns and carried on a trade were farmers also, being possessed of acre strips in the town fields (which they planted with wheat or other grain), and rights of pasture on the wastes and common lands, to which they sent their cattle. It is

1. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 43.

necessary to remember that no Industrial Revolution had taken place and that no factory system had been introduced, to fill our towns with mean streets and row upon row of ugly cottages. Steam, gas and electricity had not yet entered into the imagination of man and what manufactures there were, were made by hand, (as the word itself implies), by the master workman in that part of his house which he used as a workshop, with or without the help of journeymen and apprentices. The condition of the roads, too, forbade as a general rule any trading outside the immediate vicinity of the town, the only exception being the few special occasions on which fairs were held in those favoured places which had obtained the right to hold them from the king. So though we shall be compelled to talk of Preston as a trading town and of its trade regulations, we must resolutely put from our minds the type of town with which residence in Lancashire has made us familiar, and look upon it rather as the market town of the country side inhabited partly by small traders and shopkeepers, who made and sold their own goods, and partly by agriculturists.

In those boroughs in which a Gild Merchant existed, we generally find an organized body of persons, who made contributions to a common fund, elected officers, made trade regulations, held periodical meetings and sometimes had courts of their own. Members of this organization paid a hanse or entrance fee and certain periodical assessments, which were known as 'scot and lot.' In return they were allowed to buy and sell goods without payment of toll,[1] they possessed a monopoly of the sale by retail and had a right of pre-emption on all goods that were brought into the town to be offered for

1. It was ordered at Preston in 1328 that if any burgess should take part against the mayor, it should be lawful for the mayor 'to discharge him of his freedom for ever and his toll to be taken daily at him, as a false untrue and false forsworn.' See post, 72.

sale. To express it in a sentence, membership of a Gild Merchant carried with it the right of trading freely and the duty of paying 'scot and lot.' This description of a Gild may be illustrated from the records of the borough of Leicester. There, on some date between 1103 and 1118, Robert of Meulan, the lord of the borough, granted to his merchants the gild of their merchants with all customs. Those who entered the Gild Merchant that came into existence by virtue of this grant appeared with sureties and took an oath whereby amongst other matters they promised obedience to its regulations: in addition, they were called upon to pay an entrance fee of 20/- if they came from outside the town, or 3/- if they were natives, unless they were the heirs of gildsmen when they gave nothing at all. They also made certain contributions at fair time and paid bull-money, an exaction the precise nature of which is unknown. Further they had a court of their own, known as the Morningspeech, which sat in the Gild hall and was presided over by an alderman or aldermen or by the mayor, by which their affairs were controlled and in which offenders against the regulations were punished. These regulations were numerous and many of them, particularly the minute requirements for inspection of goods to ascertain their weight, texture or quality, must have been felt to be burdensome at times. On the other hand they possessed a variety of privileges. Not the least important of these was freedom from payment of those tolls which non-gildsmen had to pay. When Geoffrey Mauclerk came into the Gild hall whilst the court was in session and announced that he abandoned the Gild and all its liberties, the order went forth that if ever he bought or sold anything within the town of Leicester in future he should pay toll as a stranger.[1] Again, 'the brethren had their official guides who helped them to buy wool in the neighbouring country. Strangers had none but strangers to

1. Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, I, 171.

guide them and the penalty on a Leicester man who taught a stranger "the ways of the country" was a year and a day's banishment. The gildsmen had the services of an official broker in charge of the scales, and in all likelihood they had their wool weighed on the gild wool-beam free of charge when strangers paid a tronage to the Earl. Wool brought to the town by strangers might be sold to none but gildsmen, and they probably had a general right of pre-emption or even of compelling sale at their own price. They might wash fells in waters within the liberties and for them alone might Leicester wool-packers and wool-washers work, the packers and washers being specially sworn in. Gildsmen only might cut cloth or cendal, or use a yard-measure, that is, they only might sell stuffs by retail. Looms, tenters, dyeries, stores of dyes appear to have been kept for their use. They alone might sell wax, fish or meat by retail. They had a right to a share in any bargain at the making of which the gildsman was present.'[1]

Though the Gild Merchant has frequently been confused with the governing body of the borough, it is clear that the basis of the one was different from that of the other and that gildsman and burgess were not originally, at any rate, interchangeable terms. The governing body of the borough was the portmoot, presided over by the reeve, while the constitution of the Gild varied from place to place. Again, according to the Preston Custumal, no one might be a burgess who did not possess a burgage, and the same probably held good in other towns; but strangers and non-residents might be members of a Gild Merchant, while on the other hand it was possible for a man to be a burgess and yet not to be free of the Gild Merchant. Still, while it is necessary to point out that the distinction between Gild Merchant and borough undoubtedly existed, and that to identify the

1. Bateson, *Leicester*, I, Introd., xxxi.

two is to confuse a department of municipal activity with the whole of it, yet it is frequently difficult to separate the two elements and there was undoubtedly a tendency for them to coalesce. In many places the inhabitants were so few, that probably the chief offices were held by the same set of persons. At Leicester the alderman of the Gild and the mayor of the borough were the same person and he and the twenty-four jurats seem to have sat at one time as a borough court and at another time as a Gild Merchant, while we find each court dealing with offences which we should have thought lay more rightly within the jurisdiction of the other. In early times we seem to see the distinction somewhat more clearly but in later days it is blurred and difficult to recognize. The reason probably is that as the trade of the borough grew in importance, the exclusive right to carry on a trade there, rather than the possession of a burgage and the duty of attending the portmoot, would gradually and insensibly come to be regarded as the supreme right and test of burgesship.

After this brief general sketch of the functions and organization of a Gild Merchant, we can now turn our attention to the Preston Gild Merchant.

Though it is mentioned in those clauses of the Custumal which have been quoted above, we do not get any detailed information regarding it until 1328, when we meet with the following orders[1]:—

A Mayor Court holden at Preston in Amounderness before Aubrey, the son of Robert, mayor, William, the son of Roger Paulin and Roger of the Wyche, bailiffs of the same town, on Monday next after the Feast of St.

1. These orders are not to be found amongst the corporation records and we have to rely upon the copy of them—or possibly the translation, for the phraseology points to a Latin original—made by Dr. Kuerden, contained in his collection of manuscripts, and published in Baines's *History of Lancashire* and Abram's *Memorials*. In the following version the language has been modernized and certain obvious corrections have been made.

John the Baptist, the year of the reign of King Edward, the third after the Conquest of England, the second.

1. First it is ordered by assent and consent of the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses with all the whole commonalty of the same town of Preston, divers points and ordinances for the profit and welfare of the same town to all manner of burgesses in our Gild Merchant to have and to use them and their successors for evermore as it is after written.

2. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses, with all the commonalty by whole assent and consent have ordered that it shall be lawful to the said mayor, bailiffs and burgesses their heirs and successors to set a Gild Merchant at every xx year end or ever if they have need to confirm charters or (to relieve) other distress that belongs to our franchise.

3. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by whole assent and consent have ordered that no mayor for the year being in time of our Gild Merchant holding, or other officer, shall have any manner of fees, but (that) they go whole to the mayor at the renewing of the Gild for the refreshing of our town.

4. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by assent and consent have ordained for ever that no burgess's son whose father is made burgess by our court roll and out of our Gild Merchant (shall be a burgess); that it be not lawful to anyone born (of a burgess by court roll) to be free in any freedoms or liberties that belong to the franchise of our town, nor his oath to be received in any of (our) courts till the time that he has purchased his franchise at our court as his father did before and if he be sworn his freedom to be of no value.[1]

5. Also the same mayor, bailiffe and burgesses with

1. This clause is very corrupt, but the meaning obviously is that admission by court roll to the freedom of the borough conferred no rights upon the son of the person who was admitted by that method.

all the commonalty have ordained by a whole assent and consent that all manner of burgesses, who are made burgesses by court roll and out of the Gild Merchant, shall never be mayor, or bailiff or sergeant, but only the burgesses whose names be in the Gild Merchant last made before; for the King gives the freedom to the burgesses who are in the Gild and to none other.

6. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by assent and consent have ordained in the time of our last Gild Merchant had, that all those that no freedom have by Gild Merchant are to be fined by the mayor and xij. of the C. (Commonalty) whose names are in the said Gild Merchant before.

7. Also the same mayor and bailiffs and burgesses by whole assent and consent have ordained, if there be any burgess of our town belonging that takes part with any man to help him or to strengthen him against the peace and will not come to his mayor to help and strengthen him to make peace, that then it be lawful to our mayor and to his successors to discharge him of his freedom for ever and his toll to be taken daily at him, as a false untrue and false forsworn.

8. Also the same mayor and burgesses by a whole assent and consent for ever have ordained that all our bailiffs of our town make their accounts duly and truly within the year, and after the day of their accounts made, they shall have xl days respite to gather and bring up the common gelds, that then it be lawful to our mayor, bailiffs and burgesses and to their successors to attach their bodies till they have brought in all the common gelds, every penny with the arrearage.

9. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by a whole assent and consent (have ordained) that all manner of burgesses that have been mayors and bailiffs before time shall not intermingle themselves or mix themselves among the xxiiij in the time of our election, but sit upon the bench with our mayor as aldermen and if one of them

so do or mix himself among the xxiiij (he shall forfeit) his liberty to the commons or else pay the fine xxs.

10. Also the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by a whole assent and consent have ordained, if it happen one of our burgesses fall in age and in necessity of goods that he may not hold house, nor craft, nor buying and selling, so that he may not be of power to pay his freedom by the year, yet he shall be free in all our liberties that belong to our town and franchise as he was before it was that he be fallen into that great necessity of poverty.

11. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by a whole assent and consent have granted at our fair time that every potter and panner if they build a booth on our pavement that their toll be xxd. and every pewterer xd. every bower xd. every sadler xd. every cutler xd. every baker ivd. also every occupation that pays a jd. for toll on a Saturday double at fair time.

12. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by assent and consent have ordained that there shall be no manner of burgesses free to buy or sell by auction flocks of sheep or studs of horses or any manner of beasts if he be not occupied at his house or his plough.

13. Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by assent and consent have ordained that no burgess nor other man shall have any sheep or goat or scabbed horses in our fields or in our common pastures on pain of jd. as often as they are taken; a goat xld.; a scabbed horse to be burnt.

Given and ratified under our common seal the place day and year before said.

Nearly seventy years later a Gild was held and the orders of 1397, which are set out below, throw further light upon our subject[1]:—

These articles underwritten were ordained and enacted at this Gild, held in the place and on the day and year

1. These orders are a translation of the Latin transcript that is to be found in Abram's *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, Introd., xviii.

underwritten, by the consent of William de Ergham, then mayor of that Gild, and by the stewards and aldermen of that Gild, as underwritten in the following order, after the aforesaid mayor, viz. :—

1. That if any burgess of the town of Preston shall transgress against the liberties of the aforesaid town, or the free customs of the same town and straight away shall be convicted he shall lose the freedom of the same town, at the will of the mayor for the time being, and of those twelve who are ordained to him for the government of the aforesaid liberties and free customs of the aforesaid town.

2. Also, that no one shall be made mayor of the aforesaid town of Preston, until he shall have first been bailiff of the same town.

3. Also, if any burgess of the town of Preston has been elected by the consent of the commonalty of the aforesaid town to serve in any office fitting to his position, and he shall refuse, (he shall lose) his freedom, at the will of the commonalty of the aforesaid town.

4. Also, that in future no bailiff of the town of Preston shall render his account with the lord except by the burgage roll of the aforesaid town, and of the foreign burgesses, and by the perquisites of the court of the same town, and by the chief of those who are stallagers, under penalty of the forfeiture of his freedom, at the will of the mayor, and of those twelve who have been assigned and ordained to the aforesaid mayor at the time.

5. Also, that whoever is bailiff of the town of Preston, he shall render his account in the manner prescribed before the election of the mayor, and under penalty of the forfeiture of his freedom, at the will of the mayor and of those twelve who shall have been assigned, elected and ordained to him.

The abovewritten articles were made statutes in the aforesaid Court before Richard de Hoghton and all the Commonalty then and there being, which said commonalty consent with one voice to the aforesaid articles.

It has generally been assumed, on the authority of Dr. Kuerden, that there was a Gild in 1328, but the orders of that year, if carefully read, will not be found to furnish any evidence that they were passed on the holding of a Gild, as the words 'in the time of our last Gild Merchant had' do not necessarily imply that a Gild was being held when the orders were passed. The orders are stated to be the orders of a Mayor Court, *i.e.*, the court which was held yearly for the election of the mayor. Probably by this time the business of ruling the town had passed away from the general meetings of the burgesses to a specialized body, and the three meetings of the portmoot had already become 'the two leet days and the grand leet or court of election for new magistrates' that we read of in Dr. Kuerden's *Brief Description*.[1]

The orders of 1397 are definitely and without doubt orders made at a Gild Merchant, held before the mayor, three stewards and nine aldermen and are indorsed on the roll of the Gild and followed by the names of the in-burgesses and out-burgesses.

The first thing that strikes an inquirer is that in Preston there is no trace of any distinct entity known as a Gild Merchant, and that the institution here seems to have been not an organization or a semi-corporate body, but a festival or a celebration held periodically for the purpose of making money by taking various sums from those persons who lived or wished to live in the town and to acquire certain rights and privileges therein. There is a recurring solemnization called a Gild Merchant, but we can find no evidence of the separate existence of any association or fraternity such as we meet with in Leicester and other towns. The records of the borough unfortunately are not of great antiquity, but after a careful examination of those that remain we have come to the conclusion that the only officials that might possibly represent that *imperium in imperio*, known as

1. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 5.

a Gild Merchant, are the aldermen; for the stewards, who are also mentioned at the Gild of 1397, and only make their appearance on the celebration of the Gild, do not seem to be officers of a separate organization, but certain of the aldermen set apart to perform special duties.

The aldermen are the puzzle of the constitutional history of Preston, and it is a puzzle that we must now attempt to solve.

In one of the orders made in 1328 reference is made to 'the xii of the Commonalty whose names are in the said Gild Merchant before,' whose duty it was, in conjunction with the mayor, to determine the right of admission to the freedom of the borough. Aldermen also we find, for another order is to the effect that all manner of burgesses, that have been mayors or bailiffs beforetime, shall not tamper with the Twenty-four that elect the mayor, but shall sit upon the bench with the mayor as aldermen.[1] In the orders of the Gild of 1397 the powers and duties of the Twelve are either more fully expressed or they had grown in the interval, for they are there stated to be ordained, with the mayor, for the governing of the liberties and customs of the town.[2] Again, when orders of previous Gilds are recited in the rolls of the Gilds of the sixteenth century, we notice that wherever the phrase defining the Twelve appears in the early orders the word 'council' is substituted in the recitation.[3] From these facts it is no great assumption to infer that the Twelve were the governing body of the town and the later town council.

As for the aldermen, we have seen that they were in existence in 1328, and that they sat on the bench with the mayor, when the mayoral election court was in session. The Gild court also was always held before the

1. Ante, 72.
2. Ante, 74.
3. Abram, *Memorials*, 21.

mayor, three or four stewards and a varying number of aldermen. When the number of the council was increased to twenty-four some of the members possessed this title, though it is curious to note that the existence of any such persons, or of the name itself, is not recognised at all by any of the charters, until Charles II, in his second charter to the borough (1685), directed that seven members of the council should be aldermen. They are generally referred to as the 'Benchers commonly called aldermen,' and an interesting account by Dr. Kuerden of the Gild of 1682 (held three years before the second charter of Charles II) contains a few particulars concerning them. In describing the town hall, he says:—'The publiq hall hath a decent cheq, and above it an elevated bench where at the three portmotes, or the two leet days, and the grand leet, or court of election for new magistrates, sitts the mayor, aldermen, and such gentry as attends those meetings, and likewise at their court of common pleas, held each three weeks for deciding suites and controversies.' Again, under the head of 'The Method of holding Solemnization of a Guild Merchant,' he states that at a council meeting held immediately after the Easter court the three high stewards are chosen out of the aldermen, and then twelve of the principal burgesses are elected out of the council 'to be Aldermen of the Gyld and to sit as Benchers with the Gyld Mayor.[1] In another place, this historian of the borough lays it down that it is the duty of the third steward and the benchers to appoint a fine for any new compounder, or court-roll burgess, or admitted apprentice, who required confirmation of his freedom at the Gild.[2]

From these references, and from analogy with what we know of the constitutions of other towns, it is possible to formulate a theory as to the origin of the council.

1. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 48.

2. *Ibid.*, 63. The third steward was appointed to be 'bonsor' which may be a mistake for 'bursar.'

The Twelve of the Commonalty seem to correspond to the Four-and-twenty brethren of the bench or jurats of Leicester, and seem to have been a jury of the portmoot or borough court and, as such, possessed of both judicial and administrative functions. They represent the oldest form of local government known, the court at whose sittings 'all the hole comonalte' were present and shouted their assent to the dooms uttered by the benchers.

Originally the Twelve would doubtless be elected but in process of time they probably co-opted persons to fill vacancies in their numbers. Those individuals who had held office, whether they had previously belonged to the Twelve or not, would form a superior class known as aldermen, who would sit with them and form part of the town council. A similar course of events may be traced in the history of the borough of Leicester. There, when the burgesses lost the right of electing the jurats or the brethren of the bench, these last named became a close body, receiving accessions to their ranks only from those who had held office either as mayor, sergeants or chamberlains.[1] This supposition also serves to explain the fluctuation in the numbers of aldermen, which would increase or decrease, as new men were admitted to or excluded from holding office.

If we are correct in our deductions, the aldermen of Preston have sprung from the borough and not from the Gild, and we are still without any officials who may be said to represent the last institution. In later times it is certain the Gild mayor and the Gild aldermen were the ordinary mayor and aldermen of the town council and obtained their special titles merely because they held office in the year in which the Gild was celebrated.[2]

1. Bateson, *Leicester*, II, Introd., li.

2. At the same time it is difficult to see why the Gild is always stated to be held before the mayor, the stewards and the aldermen and why the rest of the town council should have taken no official part in granting admission to the freedom.

If there ever was a body whose special duty it was to safeguard the trading rights of its members, it is certain at any rate that it had disappeared by the opening of the seventeenth century. For we find on the 14th of October, 1628, 'a Companie or ffraternitie called Wardens and Companie of Drapers, Mercers, Grocers,[1] Salters,[2] Ironmongers and Haberdashers' was created by an order of the town council on a petition from a majority of the tradesmen of the town, and given power, with the consent of the mayor and common council of the town, to make laws for the better ordering of the said trades. It was further ordered that there should be two wardens of the company elected annually in the month of October, that no member of the company should take an apprentice for a less term than seven years, and penalties were imposed on all those who being strangers, or not inhabiting the town, ventured to sell any of the merchandise belonging to the above mentioned trades or to carry on the said trades, which penalties the wardens, in conjunction with an officer from the town hall, were to enforce by distress or action in the town's court.[3] This was no doubt one of those mercantile companies which, according to Dr. Gross, made their appearance in later times and succeeded to a large part of the functions of the old Gild Merchant, but differed from that body in that while the Gild Merchant comprised both merchants and artisans, its successors contained merchants only, or represented one of the many craft unions that superseded

1. For the meanings of the words mercers and grocers, see Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 128 n.

'Our respectable grocers, by the by, are descended from the engrossers against whom Parliament from the 14th to the 16th century was never tired of fulminating.' Pollard, *Factors in Modern History*, 47.

2. In 1635 the company of Salters in London certified to the wardens of the Preston Company 'that fflax and hempe are two principall Comodities that doe belong to the said trade of a Salter.' Abram, *Memorials*, 42.

3. *Preston Guardian*, April and May, 1895, and Abram, *Memorials*, 41.

the Gild Merchant. In small places like Preston, the merchants were often associated with particular trades, especially with the grocers, while in large towns each body of traders had its separate association.[1]

It would seem, from Dr. Kuerden's account of the method of holding or solemnization of a Gild Merchant in Preston, that other trades in Preston possessed some sort of organization and formed themselves into companies under wardens, (after the fashion of the Company of Drapers,) with halls of their own,[2] but we never hear of them taking any action in trade matters and there is nothing to lead us to believe that these associations ever occupied a more powerful position than the societies, which are formed nowadays amongst shopkeepers to protect the interests of their members or to promote unity of action among them.

We also meet with a society of 'Skinners, Whitlawers[3] and Glovers' in Wigan, Preston and other Lancashire towns, who complained to the Privy Council in 1633 that their trades were interrupted by persons, 'for the most part such as has run away from their masters before serving their full time.' It is clear that this was not a local Preston company, and it seems doubtful whether it was a company at all. Probably, this action was initiated by the skinners and their allies of Wigan, who obtained the support of other members of these trades carrying on business in the towns mentioned.[4]

Save and except the companies or societies that we have just mentioned, we are unable to discover any body which, claiming to deal with trade, had an existence separate and distinct from the borough.

1. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 127–129.

2. He particularly mentions the Company of Smiths and the Company of Cutlers and Saddlers. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 60, 62. An order of the Gild of 1582 also refers to the wardens of several trading companies. Abram, *Memorials*, 41.

3. A whitlawer was a collar maker.

4. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1633–4, 330, and 1635, 521, 571.

The explanation may possibly be, that in Preston the trade privileges and rights of trade legislation which were contained in a grant of a Gild Merchant, with or without hanse, such as were conferred upon the burgesses of Preston, were not, as in other towns, exercised by a separate body formed to deal with them and called a Gild Merchant, but were the function of the mayor and the capital or principal burgesses. It is worthy of note that the possibility of the existence of such a state of affairs has been recognised by so great an authority as Dr. Gross, who states that 'the wording of some borough charters ("they may make the Gild among themselves, for their profit, whensoever they desire") suggests the inference that the privilege conveyed by these grants was simply the right to hold such meetings for the purpose of assessing, or imposing "gelds" upon those participating in the mercantile franchises, and further suggests the possibility that in some towns this immunity may have been enforced by the ordinary machinery of town administration, without the aid of a formal brotherhood established for that specific purpose.'[1]

This theory is put forward with hesitation and requires to be tested, but if it is correct the grant of a Gild Merchant has been acted upon in a different way in Preston from that which has prevailed in most other towns. It is possible that a closer examination of municipal records may establish that this method was more common than has been supposed, but at the present moment the only other instance we are able to quote is that of Kendal, where similar celebrations took place at intervals of 21 years until 1759.[2]

One thing, however, seems to be clear, namely, that it was the profit attaching to the right to have a Gild Merchant that furnishes the key to the celebration or festival, which has been regularly held at twenty year

1. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 58.
2. Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal*, 138.

intervals since 1542, and which appears to have been made a source of revenue to the borough.[1] In Leicester, according to Miss Bateson, the heaviest municipal payments were in protection of the franchise, in fines or in evading fines, though there were certain fixed *exhennia*, which were presents to the officials of the king or of the Earl of Leicester and may have originated in some far earlier tributes.[2] The king and the other lords were always willing to grant or confirm charters to their boroughs for value received, and the calling in question by Edward I in 1292, of the right of the bailiffs and community of Preston to have a free borough was probably dictated by the same desire of obtaining money. With a knowledge of this fact, it is easy to see why in 1328 it was declared lawful to the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses 'to set a Gild Merchant at every xx year end or ever, if they have need to confirm charters or (to relieve) other distress that belongs to our franchise.' This interpretation is confirmed by the next order:—'Also the same mayor, bailiffs and burgesses by whole assent and consent have ordered that no mayor for the year being in time of our Gild Merchant holding, or other officer shall have any manner of fees, but (that) they go whole to the mayor at the renewing of the Gild for the refreshing of our town.' The money which the governing body of the town desired to obtain was got from the fines paid for admission to the freedom of the borough, or for a renewal of the right, and though no Gild seems to have been held for the express purpose of raising the money to purchase a new charter, or to obtain a confirmation of existing franchises, (except possibly that of 1415, which occurs in the year after the burgesses had received a charter from HenryV) it can scarcely be doubted that

1. At the Gild of 1662 the profits were £401. 18s. 0d., at that of 1682, £234. 9s. 11d., while in 1742 they dropped to about £13. Abram, *Memorials*, 55, 68, 87.

2. Bateson, *Leicester*, I, Introd., lix.

it was from this source that the burgesses drew those sums which enabled them to pay for many of the fifteen or sixteen charters, which have been granted to this town.[1]

Nothing is stated in the orders under discussion as to the difference between in-burgesses and out-burgesses, a distinction which became most important in later times, when the right to vote in the election of parliamentary representatives was a burning question; but in the roll of the Gild of 1397 there appear the names of twenty-five persons who had been out-burgesses, or foreign burgesses, in the previous Gild. They were nearly all neighbouring local magnates, such as the Banasters of Walton-le-dale, the Hoghtons of Hoghton, and the Elstons of Elston, who in all likelihood, attended the borough to join in the festivities, and were granted the freedom as a mark of respect. They were probably, in reality as well as in name, out or foreign burgesses, *i.e.*, they were not habitually resident within the town, as many of the foreign burgesses were in later days. In the oaths that were administered to the burgesses residing within and without the borough, the only difference observable between the two classes consists in this, that the former were 'contributory to all manner of charges within this town, as Sumons, Watchs, Contributions, Taskes, Tallags, Scott and Lott, and all other charges,' while the latter were exempt.[2] But their privileges were invaded by several orders of the Gild of 1500, which after laying down that no person who dwelt outside the liberties of the town, and lived 'upon biying and sellyng,'

1. See an order of the town council of the 30th September, 1662, where it was ordered that the accounts concerning the renewing of the charter and the election of the mayor should be paid out of the profits of the Gild of that year. Abram, *Memorials*, 55. In 1635 the corporation borrowed sums of money for the purpose of renewing the charter but either did not proceed with the matter or were unable to obtain what they wanted, and the money was repaid. *Ibid.*, 43.

2. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 57.

should be a burgess, and limiting the privileges of obtaining a lease of the lands belonging to the town to the in-burgesses, enacted 'that no forreyn or out-burges shall have any libertie but for his own howse,' which as explained by the orders of the Gild of 1582, evidently meant that they who lived outside the town were not to be at liberty to buy goods without paying a toll on them, except 'thynges necessarye for maynteynynge of their howses.'[1] The justice of these orders can hardly be impugned. While a burgess lived out of the town, he escaped those taxes out of which the ferm was paid, and by means of which the business of the borough was carried on; it was consequently scarcely fair that he should be allowed the same right of trade that the in-burgess possessed. The privilege of buying articles necessary for his household, and selling the produce which he had raised, was probably considered to be a fair equivalent for the fees which he paid on his admission to the Gild.

There may, perhaps, be a similar explanation of the refusal to allow the foreign burgesses any share in the government or franchises of the borough. When the Tory corporation fell foul of the Whig families of Stanley and Hoghton, about the middle of the eighteenth century, it was claimed by them that the foreign burgesses, whether resident or non-resident in the borough, had not, and never had, any right to take part in the elections. A careful perusal of the orders passed at the various Gilds leads us to believe that the claim of the corporation was sound. It is true that an order passed at the Gild of 1602 appears to indicate that a foreign burgess might become eligible for the office of mayor on residing in the town for seven years and so (one might presume), also be entitled to lesser privileges, but an order of the Gild of 1662 expressly laid it down that they were not to have a vote in the election of any

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 22, 32.

town officer or parliamentary representative,[1] while it was the in-burgesses only who successfully claimed against the mayor and the principal burgesses in 1661 the right to elect members of parliament. From this period to 1768, the time of what was locally known as 'The Great Election,' when the House of Commons declared that all the inhabitants of the borough had voices in the election of members of parliament, and that the word 'inhabitants' was to be taken in its ordinary signification, and not to be confined to the meaning of in-burgesses, the foreign burgesses who lived in the borough were treated as 'outlanders' and not permitted to vote at elections.

The stallengers, or stallagers, of Preston have hitherto been treated with less attention than their importance seems to deserve. It has been too hastily assumed that they were merely persons who paid stallage, a rent for stalls in the market, or those who collected it. That the first stallagers were simple stallholders is quite possible, but it is very evident that in later times the word 'stallager' had a much wider meaning. They are first referred to in the orders of the Gild of 1397, where the bailiffs are instructed to make up their accounts 'by the burgage roll . . . and by the chief of those who are stallagers.'[2] By an order of the next Gild, no stranger was to be stallaged by an officer of the town, under a penalty of 3s. 4d.[3] At the Gild of 1582 their rights of pasture were restricted and they were forbidden to keep alehouses, and it was also enacted that, if any persons who had been mayors or members of the common council evil intreated or misused the mayor for the time being, they should be 'disfranchised of their ffredome and so to stand and be as stallengers only.'[4] There is also a

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 54, and see orders of 1682, 1722, 1742, *ibid.*, 61 81 and 87.

2. Abram, *Memorials*, 11.

3. *Ibid.*, 14.

4. *Ibid.*, 32, and Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 11.

by-law of the Gild of 1602 prohibiting the stallagers from making malt in the town. Further, they appear three times, and only three times, on the rolls, viz., on those of the Gilds of 1562, 1582, and 1602, where they are treated as a separate class. In the last-mentioned Gild they numbered 248, out of a total of 1,400 or thereabouts, and amongst them are to be found a William Willson, musician, a William Gilibrand, 'ludimagister,' and a George Warren, 'miles.'[1]

In the proceedings of the Court Leet of the borough there are frequent presentations of persons for residing in the borough and not being burgesses. The return to many of these presentations is that the guilty individuals have entered into bonds, been stallaged and paid fines. From these entries, it is possible to state in a few words what the probable position of these people was. Originally they would be townsmen who either did not hold burgages, or were not members of the Gild, and paid for their stalls in the market, while the burgesses had theirs free. But that the term received an extended meaning is obvious from the above extracts, and in later times it was presumably applied to all those who were not burgesses, but who had obtained a license to reside within the town.

The stallagers are to be distinguished from another class of persons, who are often met with in the records of the Court of Leet and are known as 'inmates,' or lodgers. Both stallagers and inmates were objected to, but for different reasons. The case against the former was that, while resident in the town under license, they carried on trades which only burgesses were allowed to exercise: the complaint against the latter was that they were people of no substance, and that they and their families might become chargeable to the town, if they were permitted to

1. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, 62, 63, 64.

stay in it long enough to obtain a settlement.[1] In 1622, by an order of the Gild of that year, a special set of officials, known as houselookers, was appointed to deal with the influx of strangers.[2] These officials were six in number and were annually nominated and elected by the Court Leet, for the 'surveyinnge and disposinge of Inmates, fforreynors, and strangers, and other Enormities within this Towne.'[3] In the exercise of their duty they presented interlopers at the Court Leet, when the offenders were ordered to be removed, or if they had resided in the town for so long that that course could not conveniently be taken with them, they were permitted to become stallagers,[4] or even burgesses by court roll.[5]

There were two methods of obtaining the freedom of Preston: firstly, admission at the Gild; and secondly, admission by court roll, which was known as 'compounding.' Applicants for admission by the latter method, which gave a sort of interim possession of the privileges of a burgess until the holding of the next Gild, could be admitted either as in-burgesses or foreign burgesses, but the privilege was a personal one, and conferred upon the children of the person so admitted no right to claim admission themselves. They do not seem either to have been full burgesses, for one of the orders passed in 1328 enacted 'that all manner of burgesses, who are made burgesses by court roll and out of the Gild Merchant, shall never be mayor, or bailiff, or sergeant, but only the burgesses whose names are in the Gild Merchant last made before.' Those who were admitted by court roll, on appearing at the next Gild, were admitted either as in-burgesses or foreign burgesses (according to their admission by court roll), but they were

1. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 96.
2. Abram, *Memorials*, 40.
3. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 17.
4. *Ibid.*, 38.
5. *Ibid.*, 85.

required to pay again the same fine that they had paid on their former admission.[1]

The right of admitting burgesses by this method was exercised by the town council, but the mayor for the time being had also the right to make three burgesses and no more, 'unless they be some of the Nobility or other persons of honour and distinction.'[2]

But the really important time for obtaining admission to the roll of burgesses was on the occasion of the celebration of the Gild Merchant, when the mayor and stewards had the right to admit any person or persons whatever to be in-burgesses or out-burgesses, on payment of such fines and subject to such conditions as they thought proper, or in consideration of their performing services for the benefit of the town, as for instance, ringing the day-bell and curfew, wintering the town's bull, &c., or even without any payment or consideration of their duties at all.[3] Those who names appeared in the rolls of previous Gilds were entitled to be admitted on payment of 7d., as also were their sons, unless the admission of the father had been for himself alone. On the other hand. those who were admitted for the first time at the Gild, paid sums varying generally from three to forty shillings, according to the probability of their coming to reside in the town and infringing that jealously guarded monopoly, the trade of the borough.

In early times women apparently were entitled to be members of the Gild. On the back of the roll of the Gild of 1397 there are the names of sixteen women; the names of six others appear in the roll of the Gild of 1415,[4] another in that of 1459,[5] and another (amongst the out-

1. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, Introd., xiii.

2. *Ibid.*, Introd., xii; Abram, *Memorials*, 82.

3. Abram, *Memorials*, 32.

4. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, 8, 9.

5. *Ibid.*, 11.

burgesses) in that of 1542.[1] An order of the Gild of 1562, lays it down that 'all and any Widowes hereafter beyng late Burgesses Wiffes of this Gild, or that hereafter shall be made by the Gild Merchant or by the Court Roole shall have and enjoy such liberties and ffredomes during their Widowheade as their husbondes in liff tyme had and enjoyed by reason of their Burgesshippe.'[2] The exact meaning of this order is not perfectly clear, but it is certain that the name of a woman never appears in the rolls of burgesses after the Gild of 1542, and that whatever trading privileges widows possessed were not transferable on their re-marriage to a second husband, who was not a freeman.[3]

Some irregularity may be observed with regard to the day upon which the celebration of the Gild commenced, for down to and including the celebration of the year 1562 the days varied greatly. However, from that Gild onwards, there has been no departure from the rule that the Gild Merchant shall commence upon the Monday following the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (August 29th).[4] We are without information as to why this day was fixed upon, but the reason possibly is that St. John the Baptist was the patron saint of the town. At any rate the borough arms, the lamb with a crosslet, are the sacred emblem of that saint,[5] and there is some ground for believing that the parish church, which is regarded as being dedicated to St. John the Divine, may be dedicated to the Baptist.[6]

We are fortunate in having an account of the method of celebrating a Gild from the pen of one who witnessed those of 1662 and 1682. This was Richard Kuerden, a doctor of medicine, whose '*Brief Description of the*

1. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., ix, 19.
2. Abram, *Memorials*, 22.
3. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 70.
4. Abram, *Memorials*, 23.
5. Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints*.
6. *Chartulary of Cockersand*, Chetham Society, xxxix, 221, 222

Burrough and Town of Preston and its Government and Guild,' has been already largely drawn upon in these pages. Under the head of 'The Method of holding or Solemnization of a Guild Merchant' he states[1]:—

"After the Great Court of Election, next preceding the *Guild* that is to bee held, a speciall care is to bee taken that Burgesses of good presence and complacency bee elected for Bailiffs, for the ensuing yeare, who, with greater credit and reputation may attend the Gyld Mayor, in all his publicke Assemblys, and especially in the time of the Gyld, when many persons of Honour and Gentry, are to bee treated in an extraordinary manner for the greater Applause and Glory to the Burrough of Preston.

" Imediatly after the Easter Court, before such Gyld, att a Mayors Counsell, the Town Clerke shall read over the Catalogue of Forraign Burgesses, and transcribe the principall Burgesse in each distinct family, that liveth out of the County, that notice, by ticket, may be sent to them, or to some of their near relations, that by proxy may represent them, and in their behalfe appeare at the succeeding Gyld, on such a day, and such a month, to be solemnly held in the Burrough.

"And at that time likewise, the three high Stewards appointed for the Gyld, to be chosen out of the Aldermen, who shall receive the Fynes of all such as claime priviledge in the Franchises of this Burrough, and also the grand Senescal to the Gyld, who administreth the Oath of the Gyld to all Burgesses, and recordeth the names accordingly; and then also to elect 12 of the principall Burgesses out of the Council, to be Aldermen of the Gyld, and to sit as Benchers with the Gyld Mayor.

"The Mayor, with these and the residue of his Councill, shall appoint out of the Burgesses, fitting persons to be Providers, for preparing and procuring all things to be in readiness against the Gyld, as fatt Beef,

1. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 47–49.

Veal, Mutton, Pullen, Venison, if otherwise enough be not sent in before.

"And likewise, a reasonable time before the Gyld, a sumptuous, spacious Mansion to be had in readines, with all fitting Offices necessary for such a grand Solemnity, with cellariges for Beer, Ale, and Wine, in due time to the lodged in. Wine and Sack the best that may be procured from home merchants or from London, at the discretion of the Mayor and his Councill, and this in reasonable time. As likewise the best Malt that can be had, and the most expert Brewer to be appointed to brew the same, and see it lodged in the Cellars at the Gyld Hall, being first approved of in its kind to be excellent good."

The author then goes on to state that in order that due notice of the intended solemnization of the Gild might be given to the burgesses, the mayor was to cause proclamation of it to be made by his serjeant at the High Cross in the market on a market day, one month prior to the opening of the Gild, and on the three succeeding market days. The proclamation which was somewhat lengthy, called upon all burgesses, inhabitants or foreigners to repair to the town by themselves, their friends or their proxies upon the opening day and to be present at the town hall at eight o'clock in the forenoon in order to accompany the mayor to church and afterwards in procession through the town: it further gave notice that all who claimed any franchises were to make claim to them, and that they would then and there be made acquainted with the orders that were made at the Gild.

After setting forth the forms of oaths, which were respectively to be taken by in-burgesses and out-burgesses on obtaining or renewing their freedom, Kuerden proceeds to describe the ceremonies which took place when the Gild opened:—

"Upon Munday next after the Decolation of St. John Baptist, about 8 in the morning, all the Companys of

Trades, with the Wardens of each Company in their Gowns and long white Rods, each Company ranged into 2 fyles, the flags of each Company displayed and variety of musick attending each Company, march regularly up and down the streets, wayteing for the Gild Mayor's attendance.

"And the young men within the Town, not being as yet free to Trade of themselves, have a Captain and Leftenant of their own, their ensign being the Town Arms, a Flagg with the Holy Lamb; and they march and attend in the like order, as aforesaid, with their drums and musiq.

"After which marches, a proper man, bearing the great Baner with the King's Arms; and after that, following in ranks, the Mayor's pensioners or guard before the Baner, with Partezans, and those after with halberts, after which followeth signly the Black Sarjeant with his halberd, and then the two Sarjeants with their Maces, then the 2 Balives with their white Rods, and the Aldermen in their Robes, and after them the *Guild Mayor* with his great Staff of Authority, and attended on each side with the Nobility and Gentry of the country, as wel as with the Gentry of the Town.

"The Mayor first proceeding from his own House, with his more privat attendance, to the Town Hall, where the 12 Aldermen attend his coming in their brown fur'd Robes, with the rest of his Councill in their Gownes appropriat; from whence, with sound of trumpet, they march to the High Crosse in Market place, where after proclamation there made that the Guild is now to be opened and solemnized, in the interim the Bells ringing, all the Companys of Trade, souldery, and guards, are ranged in order for their more solemn attendance, (viz.) the Company of Smiths, then that of the Cutlers and Sadlers Company, having in the midst of their trayn, a man on horse back armed Cap-a-pe, brandishing a naked sword; they marching in order from the Market crosse towards the Church, their drums beating, musick of al

sorts playing, they from the Church style divid to the right hand, and left Mr. Mayor, the Nobility and Gentry, passing through them, and so into the Church, where after prayers performed by the Vicar of the Parish, and a learn'd Sermon preacht by the Gild Mayor's Chaplin, comonly a man of noted knowledge and eloquence, chosen upon that occasion, where, after Sermon ended, the Mayor with his great attendance is received in the streets by his guards of Souldiers and Companys of Trade, he maks his procession to the Church gate barrs, where he and his attendance are entertained with a speech made by one of the chief Schollers of the School, a Barrel or Hogshead of nappy Ale standing close by the Barrs is broached, and a glass offered to Mr. Mayor, who begins a good prosperous health to the King, afterwards to the Queen, the Nobility and Gentry having pledged the same; at each health begun by Mr. Mayor, it is attended with a volley of shot from the musketiers attending; the contry people there present drinking of the remander, after which the Companys of Trade and others, facing about, march in the same order toward the Fishergate Barrs, where they are entertained by another speech in Latin by a Scholler appointed for the same, where another Hogshead is set a broch with the ceremony of healths and volleys of shott, the people shouting and seizing of the residue left. Then, in the same order, they march in great equipage to the Friergate Barrs, where entertained in the same manner by a 3d speech and another Hogshead of ale as aforsaid, then the Guild Mayor and all his noble retinue, returning back towards the Market place, to the High Crosse, where the Schollmaster himselfe entertains tham with a learned speech, and verses concerning the prossperous Government of his Majestie, and his gracious confirmation of their unparaled franchises of a Guild Merchant, in such grandure to be solemnis'd each 20 years; after which a Hogshead of Wine standing at the Crosse, is broached, the King's and Queen's health drunk, with joyfull

acclamations of the people and volleys of shot as aforesaid, all the Companys of Trades, Soldiers, Mayor's guards in good order surrounding the High Crosse, Mr. Mayor and his honorable retinue, whilst these things were in performing, afterwards reducing themselves in their mothods, march before Mr. Mayor towards the Gild Hall appointed for entertainment, where coming they lodg, and hang out at some of the higher windowes, the King's Flag and the Burrough Flag with the Holy Lamb, at which Mr. Mayor being present, with great acclamations of the people and a volley of shott, each Company of Tradsmen draw off in order to their respective Halls, appointed for their societys, their Flag of Trade hung out in like manner before their Halls, and their entertein nobly each their own society, the Forren Burgesses at that solemnity in order marching with their respective fraternityes particepatry in their splendid entertainment, feastings, and what additional treats as are sent unto them by the Guild Mayor at the time."[1]

Dr. Kuerden here stays to give us a list of all the officers of the Gild commencing with the stewards and ending with the groom porters, after which he proceeds as follows:—

"As soon as the Kings Baner and the Flag, with the Holy Lamb, are hung out att the Guild Hall, the Mayor, with his noble Attendants enter the Hall, passing by the Groom Porter, in his black Gown and black Staff, who keeps of pressure of the crouding people. They are conducted up into the dining Roome by the Controller of the Household and the Usher of the Hall, both in their Gowns and white Staves, where, when arrived, they are kindly and nobly welcomed, and treated with good Sack and Bisket, untill Dinner be brought up, which is attended by 6 or 8 able Musitians, with their wind Instruments; and the caryeing of the first course, upon the first day of the Guild, is by the Aldermen or 12

1. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 58–62.

Benchers, the senior Aldermen bearing and presenting the first dish unto the attending Gentlemen Sewers, who receiveth that and the other dishes, decently and reverently placing them upon the Table, after which the Mayor with his Master of the Ceremonys moveth the Nobility and Gentry to take their places at the Table, which, when so placed, the Reverend Divine (the Guild Mayors Chaplin for that solemnity) with great reverence, craves a blessing upon the Meat; after which, the Carver attending, being cal'd upon, attends in his office as occasion requires the Attendants at the Table, with reverence being very dutifull in supplying what may be required. Att Diner time, after the 1st Course be served up, the Musick playing upon their stringed Instruments, at a due distance in or near unto the Dyning Roome, as may be most pleasant and audible, to the contentment of the Nobility and Gentry attending at this great Solemnity.

"Against the 2d Course, the goe down towards the Kitchen, attending that service with their wind Instruments to the Dyning Roome. After Meat plac'd upon the Table, betake them again to their stringed Instruments as before, their playing melodiously all Diner time, where is all verietye of mirth and good victualls, nothing is wanted that may either give a plenary contentment to the Guests or credit and honor to Mr. Mayor; where the King, Queens, and many a noble health, in good liquor, passeth round and round all the Tables; and lastly, after great variety of Fruites and Sweet Meats be sufficiently over, in comes the concluding dish, of all store of Pipes and Spanish Tobacco, drenched well with healths in Spanish Wine; and this last dish served up, after the Chaplain hath given thanks for the plentifull refreshment already made use of.

"After the Tables is diffurnished of Victualls, the memory of Absent Frends is then revived in the best Wine or Sack, as the Cellar will afford.

"Towards 2 or 3 o'Clock notice is given to the Guards

and Companys of Trads to attend again in their Equipage, as before is said, they haveing sufficiently feasted themselves at their severall Halls, with Flags hung out; each Company having besides their own splendid provisions, a present at Diner sent them from the Guild Hall, each Company a Venison pasty, piping hott, and a great store of Wine and Sack presented from Mr. Mayor."[1]

After the dinner was over the mayor and his attendants proceeded from the gild hall to the moot hall where, following another windy proclamation, the ceremony of taking the oath of a burgess, and renewing or obtaining the freedom, was proceeded with for a space of time, after which the mayor retreated, with such of the nobility and gentry as happened to be present, to the Gild hall to indulge in more feasting and drinking. The programme on the second and succeeding days was much the same, a visit to church, a dinner and the ceremony of admission, while each night there were 'balls and revellings' until the day appointed for the 'shutting up' of the Gild.

The procedure thus described can have varied but little from the year 1500, as we may see from the following statement which is to be found in the roll of the Gild of 1542. It runs:—

"These being the articles and poynts that appertayneth to the Guild Marchaunt at Preston, that all burgesses dwellyng wythin the towne of Preston shall be raydy at the Gyld Marchaunt for to go with procession from the Maudlands throughout the towne as the procession is wont to be of old tyme, that is to say, the first daye of the foresayd Gyld. And after ye foresaid Procession a Masse with Solempnytie of the Holy Goyste, solempnly to be held with the Mayor and Aldermen, forasmoch as it was advised by the Mayor of the Gyld Marchaunt and

1. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 68–70.

burgesses of the same Gyld, before this tyme. Holdyng that Gyld Marchaunt, oppon ye Mondaye in the fest of decolason of Saynte John Baptist ye sixteenth year of Kyng Henry VIIth, that the poynts and the rights of the Gyld Marchaunt moght be knowen to all burgesses, therefore was made three Proclamac'ons in ye open Market three days, that all manner of men clayming franchises of fredome within our burgh of Preston, whether they it claym by descent or parchase, that they shall apper at ye tyme that Gyld Marchaunt is holden before the Mayor and the Burgesses of the same Gyld, for to here and know the franchise, freedoms, and liberties, and all and all other poynts appertaynyng to ye said Gyld Marchaunt, the whyche we have by letters patent, be ye said lege lord the Kyng and of his most noble progenitors to us graunted before this tyme." [1]

The names of the burgesses who obtained or renewed their freedom were entered on the rolls of the Gilds. The method of entry will most easily be shown by an example [2]:—

Will'm's Walshman Senior Jur'
Will'm's Walshman filius eius
Joh'es Walshman filius eius
Rogerus Walshman filius Will'mi Sen'
Rad'us Walshman frater Will'mi Sen' Jur'
Joh'es Walshman filius eius
Rogerus Walshman frater eius
Thomas Walshman frater eius

Here we have set forth the family of Walshman consisting of two brothers and their families, who were inburgesses at the Gild of 1622. The older brother, William Walshman Senior, heads the list and is followed by his son and his grandson, for the word *eius* (meaning

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 18.
2. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, 72.

his or *of him*) always has relation to the immediately preceding name, so that William Walshman *filius eius* is the son of William Senior, and John Walshman *filius eius* is the son of William and grandson of William Senior. Roger the next on the list is the second son of William Senior. He in turn is followed by Ralph Walshman, the brother of William Senior, and his three sons, John the first being described in the roll as son of Ralph, Roger as brother of John, and Thomas as brother of Roger.

It will be noticed that at the end of two names there appears the word *Jur'*. This is a contraction for *juratus* and signifies that the persons whose names it follows had been sworn. Not every one was sworn at the time that his name was entered on the roll. A burgess, who was present and of full age, would no doubt take the oath, but it could not be administered in the case of sons entered by their fathers while still under age, or in the case of those who were absent from the celebration, a class which must have included a considerable number of the foreign burgesses. Frequently, these appeared subsequently and were sworn, when the word *Jur'*, together with the date of taking the oath, is added to the name in the roll.

In the rolls of the Gilds of 1397 and 1459 we find that those whose fathers were not in the previous Gild and so paid fines for their admission, were only admitted on one or two burgesses acting as pledges or sureties for them,[1] but this requirement would seem to have been dropped later, for we never meet with it in the records of subsequent Gilds.

These rolls are a storehouse of information for the genealogist and are of great interest to the historian of the borough, as they give us the names of the chief Preston families in unbroken succession from 1542 to the

1. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, 4–6, 13–15.

present day. Addison, Banister, Blundell, Breres, Bostock, Clayton, Haydock, Hodgkinson, Preston, Sudell, Wall, Walton, Walmsley and Werden are amongst the names most frequently seen and one or more representatives of them was nearly always to be found amongst the governing body of the town. We are not here concerned with the out-burgesses, but the lists of these, which are generally headed by the Stanleys, form an almost complete record of the nobility and gentry of the county.

In many instances the trade of the burgess is stated, but the entries do not indicate that any trade in the town was sufficiently large to be entitled to be called a staple industry. The occupations which most frequently appear are those connected with the leather trade, such as tanners, curriers, glovers, saddlers, and corvisors or bootmakers. What the extent and amount of this trade was we are unable to say, but it was frequently the subject of regulation. An order of the Gild of 1622 ordered raw hides to be taken to the Hide-hill to be sold.[1] We learn from the *White Book*[2] that less than a century later a market was held for the sale of green hides, in the market place, beginning at 9 o'clock every Saturday morning between Michaelmas and Candlemas and at 7 o'clock during the rest of the year,[3] while we know that searchers and sealers of leather were appointed, whose duty it was, amongst other things, to see that all hides were sufficiently tanned[4] and that shoes were not sold that were 'made up with horse Lether.'[5]

The spinning of yarn and the making of linen and woollen cloth also provided occupation for a number of

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 40.

2. The *White Book* contains the records of the town council proceedings from the year 1608.

3. Under date November 6th, 1704, and see also Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 8.

4. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 81.

5. *Ibid.*, 139.

burgesses who are described 'flaxman,' 'woollen webster' and so on. There are several incidental references to these trades in the records. In 1565, for instance, a London merchant sued one of the Hodgkinsons of Preston in the Duchy Court in respect of a disputed debt for a hundred bales of flax sold to the defendant.[1] Four years later, 270 yards of linen cloth, at 5½d. and 6d. a yard were bought at Preston for charitable distribution at Towneley.[2] In 1566 Queen Elizabeth's charter granted to the borough the ulnage and sealing of all cloths. In spite of this, in 1571 the aulnager for the county brought an action against the mayor complaining of the latter's exercise of a privilege for which the plaintiff paid a yearly sum and claiming an injunction. In the mayor's answer we are informed that 'the clothes comonly maid nere about the said Towne and w'ch be commonlie solde in the said Towne are narrowe white kearses.'[3]

In the seventeenth century a market was held at daybreak on Saturday mornings for linen cloth, while markets for yarn were held on Friday nights and on Saturday mornings, at the close of the linen sales.[4] Early in the next century, in January, 1705, a petition from Preston was presented to the House of Commons in which it was stated that the making of linen cloth had, for many ages, been the settled trade of the neighbourhood and was the sole dependence of thousands of families.[5] It is scarcely necessary to say that this language is picturesque rather than accurate and that the object of the petition was probably to induce parliament to prohibit the importation of linen from Ireland for the benefit of the Preston weavers.

On a general review of the trade of the town, it does not appear probable that it was ever of more than merely

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 29.
2. *Ibid.*, 28.
3. Abram, *Memorials*, 26. Kerseys were a rough woollen cloth.
4. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 7.
5. Hardwick, *History*, 359.

local importance until the introduction of the cotton industry, and the antiquary Thoresby, who visited the town during the holding of the Gild of 1703, seems to have been guilty of but slight exaggeration when he stated that there were no merchants or manufacturers there and that the town depended chiefly upon the quill.[1]

We have wandered rather far afield and must now return to the celebration of the Gild. In addition to the preparation of the new burgess roll, another important work was also performed. All the by-laws that had been passed at previous Gilds and were still in force were confirmed, together with those passed in the interval by the council, and occasionally the whole body of by-laws or orders was revised and re-promulgated, as for instance at the Gild of 1662.[2] On the last day of the celebration, the burgesses being summoned, the Gild Book of Orders was held up before them, and, it being demanded by the mayor whether they approved of what was done, 'they with loud acclamation do cry consent.' 'Then doth the Clerk of the Gyld draw back the Book and affixes the Holy Lamb, &c., the Burrough Seal unto the same, in presence of them all; and then the Mayor and Steward, holding up the Book, say 'Here is your Lawe. God bless the King.'[3]

A few words may be said in conclusion on the general policy of the corporation with regard to trade. As has been said, the grant of a Gild Merchant was the grant of the exclusive right of trading in the borough to those who were members of the Gild or who had acquired the freedom of the town, with the two-fold object of concentrating trade in a certain locality and encouraging its growth. No doubt both the founders and the settlers benefited from the increase of population and trade which

1. *i.e.*, legal work. Abram, *Memorials*, 74.

2. Abram, *Memorials*, 22. The time occupied in this caused the celebration of the Gild of 1662 to be prolonged for six weeks. The usual period nowadays is one week.

3. Kuerden, *Brief Description*, 88.

the trading privileges and the security of municipal life brought in their train, but when in process of time, the boroughs acquired strength and bought out the lords' rights, they exercised the privileges which had been granted to them in a narrow, selfish spirit and the burgesses looked with jealousy on new comers who might share their monopoly and diminish their profits. It is probable that the clause which allowed villeins to be free who remained for a year and a day within the borough, was designed both to protect the original settlers and to increase their numbers, but it is very doubtful whether, after the community obtained some measure of independence and prosperity, it ever permitted its ranks to be swelled by this class of people. At any rate so far as the orders of Gilds Merchant or of town councils have come down to us we always find them preserving rigorously their trade privileges and expelling or fining all 'foreigners' who attempted to exercise a trade in the borough without having obtained the freedom.

The records of the Court Leet furnish numerous instances of penalties imposed on those who were not free, and the restrictions that were from time to time imposed on the admissions of new burgesses, together with the heavy entrance fees that were exacted, show how greatly the burgesses valued their monopoly. Even apprenticeship for seven years in the town was not sufficient, of itself, to give the right to carry on a trade without admission by court roll or at a Gild Merchant, coupled of course with the payment of an entrance fee. The freedom was certainly worth paying for. In addition to the privilege it conferred of carrying on a trade, there were other advantages which were not to be despised. A resident in-burgess was entitled to pasture cattle on the Marsh, the Moor[1] and the town wastes, to have a lease of

1. In 1816, in the case of Hodgkinson v. Clowes tried at Lancaster Assizes, a decision was given against the claim of freemen to pasturage on the Moor. Hardwick, *History*, 304.

town land, to be free from tolls, to occupy a stall in the market without payment and to vote for the election of the mayor, other town officials and members of parliament. The reason given for the imposition of restrictions was that the burgesses were subject to certain charges such as scot and lot, from which others were exempt, but if that had been the whole of the case, it would not have been necessary to charge the heavy fines for admission that were inflicted on applicants for the freedom. Still, while there can be little doubt but that this policy of protection was administered in a greedy, selfish spirit and must have driven trade from the borough to find a refuge in other Lancashire towns, which, being of more modern growth had never possessed and therefore could never exercise this ancient franchise, we must be on our guard against blaming our forefathers too harshly, because they acted in accordance with the theories and practices of the centuries in which they lived, instead on those of the nineteenth and twentieth. In their days all trade, whether local or national, was regarded as a fit subject for regulation by parliament and local bodies, and he would be a daring man who would say that in no instance were these regulations beneficial in result. It is easy nowadays—it would have been still easier fifty years ago—to speak contemptuously of many of them; but it should be remembered that in some instances, for example, in the fixing of cab fares and in the weighing of bread, we are still far from that complete freedom of contract which was held up to reverence by the economists of the early part of last century. There is something to be said, too, in favour of the enactments against 'forestalling,' 'engrossing' and 'regrating.'[1] In an era of well paved highroads, of railways and docks, of telegraphs and telephones, of wholesale houses and joint

1. 'Forestalling' was buying goods before they came to market or before the market opened. 'Engrossing' was 'cornering' goods, and 'regrating' was buying to sell again at a profit.

stock concerns, we have the whole world for our market; but it must be remembered that the effective area of supply for Preston must have been limited to a few miles from its bars. It would consequently have been comparatively easy for a shrewd trader to have bought up the available supply of the market, and thereby enhanced prices to the detriment of the townspeople. Partial as the success of these regulations must have been in a borough like Preston, which had no walls, we imagine that, even in the present year of grace, many persons who pride themselves on their smartness and shrewdness would be willing to barter some part of their reputation if they could but obtain a measure which would be as effective a restraint on speculators as this mediæval device.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century more enlightened views as to the value of freedom of trade penetrated the town, and though a prosecution was instituted by the corporation in 1772 against Mr. Baines (the father of the historian of Lancashire) for trading in the borough without being free, it was the last instance of its kind.

CHAPTER V.

From the Accession of the House of Lancaster to the Close of the Civil Wars.

Neither the closing years of the fourteenth century nor the whole of the next century provide much material for the history of Preston, and we are reduced to the careful garnering of such slight historical gleanings as we can pick up and to the recording in chronological order of a variety of events that have few connecting links and little central interest.

The unfortunate Richard II granted a charter to the borough in 1379, but like those granted by his three immediate successors Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, in 1401, 1414 and 1425, it contained no new features but merely confirmed existing charters and the rights and privileges which they had previously conferred.[1]

Celebrations of the Gild Merchant were held in 1397, 1415, 1459 and 1500, and the rolls contain the names not only of those who inhabited the town at these dates, but also of those who living outside shared some of the privileges of the burgesses, as well as certain orders or by-laws relating to the government of the borough, which were made or confirmed at the Gilds.[2]

The plague or Black Death, which smote England and the continent with such terrible force in 1349—1350 continued to recur in this country though with diminishing severity and at ever lengthening intervals. In 1423 it was raging so furiously in Lancaster that it was reported that a large portion of the people were dying there, so

1. Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 10–13: the charter of Henry VI is omitted from the list of those recited in Elizabeth's charter and translated by Dr. Lingard, but a translation of it appears in Abram, *Memorials*, 15.

2. Ante, 98–99, 101.

that much of the land was untilled and as a consequence the assizes were ordered to be adjourned to Preston. Forty-three years later there was another visitation at Lancaster and a similar order was made for the adjournment of the sessions of the justices to Preston.[1]

These, however, are merely local incidents of little interest save to the inhabitants of Lancashire and Preston, and the main course of English history seems to have swept on without much visible effect or influence upon this neighbourhood. Though a dynasty occupied the throne, whose kings had a close connection with the county and took their name from it, Lancashire was still an out of the way place, not easily accessible, sparsely inhabited and relatively of small importance. Even in the Wars of the Roses Lancashire took but a slight part and gave but little support to the descendants of John of Gaunt. The Molyneux, it is true, were supporters of the reigning house, but the other rising family, that of the Stanleys, adopted a non-committal attitude and a policy of waiting until the moment arrived when a judicious use of the forces they had raised in Lancashire and Cheshire enabled them to bring about a decisive result and to obtain substantial rewards for their services.[2] No battle of any moment was fought within the boundaries of the county during the civil war, and though Henry VI took refuge in it after his defeat at Hexham,[3] it was apparently rather because the wild nature of its eastern borderland made it a suitable hiding place than because he could rely upon the loyalty of its inhabitants.

After these civil strifes had been healed and the conflicting claims united by the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York a troop of pretenders made their appearance. The first of them, and the only one whom we intend to mention, was Lambert Simnel, who was

1. Fishwick, *History*, 35, 37.
2. *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 214–215.
3. *Warkworth's Chronicle*, Camden Society, 1st Series, X, 5.

given out to be Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence. The boy, for he was no more than that, and his managers, the Earls of Lincoln and Kildare, landed at 'the Pyle of Foudray,'[1] in Morecambe Bay, from Ireland in June, 1487, but he got little support in his march south through Lancashire and his claims and his supporters came to an untimely end on the battle field of Stoke.

The next uprising which affected Lancashire and the north of England occurred nearly fifty years later and was a far more formidable affair. This was the *Pilgrimage of Grace,* which broke out in Yorkshire under the leadership of Robert Aske. Various elements of religious, political and social discontent animated and united the insurgents, but the revolt was mainly directed against the recent suppression of the lesser monasteries and the elevation of the low born Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief instrument.[2] The movement spread into north-east Lancashire, but the rest of the county was unaffected by it. This was probably due as much as anything to the wise bearing and politic demeanour of the Earl of Derby who remained faithful to the king. Still the situation was grave in the extreme, when Derby assembled nearly 8,000 men at Preston on the 28th October, 1536.[3] However, the Duke of Norfolk having promised certain concessions, the rebels dispersed and when the rebellion blazed up again early in the next year, the king was in a position to deal with it more sternly with the result that it was suppressed and some score or so of the leaders hanged.

But if Preston escaped external dissensions it had internal quarrels that must have occupied its attention pretty fully. These had to do with the constitutional

1. Piel Island, near Barrow-in-Furness.

2. Froude, *History of England,* III, 86–105: *Political History of England,* V, 395–399.

3. *Derby Correspondence,* Chetham Society, O.S., IX, 38–43.

question of the election of the mayor and recurred at intervals during the whole of the sixteenth century. The bitterest of them arose through the interference of Sir Richard Hoghton, a member of an influential family, who took their name from the township of Hoghton, situate half way between Preston and Blackburn, and not only owned the manor of Lea but had considerable possessions in Preston.[1] Their names appear amongst those of the out-burgesses in the earliest Gild roll, and it is significant in view of the incident that we are about to relate, that the admission of one of them was saddled with the condition that he conducted himself properly towards the liberties of the borough.[2] They acquired the rectory and the patronage of the benefice of Preston in this century, and of all the gentry who lived in the neighbourhood they appear to have been easily the most important and to have taken the most considerable part in the town's affairs.

The Gild roll for the year 1500 is missing, but the orders then made are recited in the roll of the Gild of 1562 and from one of them it appears that the mayor was selected and appointed by a body of twenty-four, who were annually elected for the purpose.[3] These twenty-four, who must not be confused with the twenty-four capital burgesses, were precluded from holding any office for the next year and were chosen from amongst the burgesses, by 'twoe auncyent, discrete, and honest burgesses, inhabitantes of the said Town,' who were chosen in open court by the mayor and called 'eleizors.'[4]

1. Fishwick, *History*, 260–264. Abram, *Memorials*, 18. *Preston Guardian*, July 3rd to August 28th, 1880.

2. 'supra conditionem de se bene gereundo (*sic*) erga libertates.' Gild Roll of 1397, see *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, 4.

3. The mayor of Exeter was chosen by a similar body, Freeman, *Exeter*, 146. See also Coventry, Dormer Harris, *Life in an Old English Town*, 98.

4. Abram, *Memorials*, 21.

These orders seem clear enough, but they are not easily reconcilable with the statements appearing in the pleadings of an important case which was tried in 1527 and 1528,[1] in which James Walton, late mayor, was plaintiff, and Sir Richard Hoghton was defendant. From this case we gather that the general body of burgesses was possessed of some share in the selection of the mayor, and that it was customary to appoint two impartial persons out of the clergy resident in the town to take the examination of the burgesses 'for the gift of their voices.' According to the plaintiff, Sir Richard came to the Court Leet or Court of Election held at the moot hall, and with a 'heygh voyce and angry cowntenance' declared that his chaplain, Thomas Bostocke, should be one of the priests to examine the voters. The plaintiff, 'for fear of murder' so runs the record, called upon Sir Richard in the king's name not to meddle or interrupt; but the latter demanded 'scornefully and yn dyyrysion: Commandest thou me in the kinges name, gett the hom to thy soper,' and then he called him a 'falles knave.' The plaintiff, in fear of his life, left the moot hall, with about sixty burgesses, and afterward fled from the town. Sir Richard and his following then elected Nicholas Banaster to be mayor, appointed a bailiff and a sergeant, removed the town clerk from his office and appointed John A'Powell[2] in his place, which, the pleadings say, 'was contrary to the law, he being a Welshman born.' The answer of A'Powell charges the plaintiff with wishing to appoint his own nominee a William Wall, 'a man who had got many into trouble,' and goes on to state that when Walton had left the moot hall a certain John Hoghton, who had previously been mayor, sat on the bench and conducted the election; that priests were sent for from the church to act as 'markers,' but that they dare not come, some for fear of the vicar, who was brother to

1. The following account is taken from Fishwick, *History*, 38–44.
2. Probably more correctly Ap Howell.

Wall's wife, and others because they were commanded in the name of the Earl of Derby, by whose gift they occupied their chantries, not to come; and that the ex-bailiffs and one 'Henry Clyfton, a gentleman of sadde and good conversation,' were subsequently appointed in their place.

In the result, the election of Banaster was adjudged to be void, as being contrary to the ancient usages and customs of the town, and it was ordained that Christopher Haydock should occupy the 'Rome of Mayraltie' by the name of governor appointed by His Majesty for that year until the feast of St. Wilfrid. Sir Richard Hoghton's interference was declared to have been wrongful and certain articles and ordinances were drawn up for 'the good rule, tranquility, and restfulness of the king's town of Preston.' These articles[1] forbade foreign burgesses to meddle in the election of the mayor or bailiff, re-enacted the old rule that no person should be mayor who had not previously been a bailiff, and laid down that the mayor and his successors should every year appoint a day in the week preceding the feast of St. Wilfrid, and should warn the burgesses to assemble in the common hall to appoint a new mayor, bailiff, and sergeant; that the mayor and those who had previously held the office should appoint an honest, sad and discreet burgess living in the town, and the residue of the burgesses assembled should appoint another; and that these two persons should receive the votes of the burgesses for the candidates for the offices of mayor, bailiff and sergeant.

Though the victory might thus appear to have rested with Walton, it was only in seeming, for these orders neither reduced Sir Richard Hoghton to submission nor settled the vexed question of the mayoral election. Only

1. They are stated to have been ordained by Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor of the Duchy, with the consent of James Walton and Henry Clyfton, who were authorized under the common seal of the town to conclude with the Chancellor in the name of the whole commonalty.

six years later, when James Walton was again mayor, we find the turbulent knight accused of having 'received divers persons burgesses of the town, to the intent to have all the rule there for the nomination of mayor, bailiff and sergeant,' and of having assembled together with some thirty or forty others to elect a mayor on the 3rd October, 1534, about ten or eleven o'clock at night.

He even went further than this. Not satisfied with attempting to obtain the control of the election of the mayor, Sir Richard dared to interfere in the parliamentary representation of the borough. Like many other towns Preston had contrived to evade its duties in this respect and had ceased to send members to parliament. The provision for the payment of members operated as a somewhat heavy task on the resources of the boroughs and many of them induced the sheriff to leave them out in making his returns. Actuated by the selfish motive of economy the burgesses were content during the Middle Ages to leave the people's fight against unauthorized taxation to be waged by the knights of the shire. Accordingly for nearly two hundred years, from 1331 to 1529, Preston sent no members to parliament. When the representation was resumed Christopher Haydock and our old acquaintance James Walton were returned to the parliament which sat from 1529 to 1536. While Walton was in London his enemy had the audacity to cause his retainers to elect another member, to obtain the common seal to be set to the election return and to send it to parliament in the charge of Alexander Clayton one of the bailiffs. According to the indignant Walton this was done out of malice to him, because he had given evidence that the town had to pay him 16d. a day whilst parliament was sitting.

It is impossible to say now what was the origin of these disturbances. It may have been an attempt on the part of the out-burgesses headed by the greatest of them, to obtain some share in the government and parliamentary representation of the town, or, as seems more

probable, it may merely have been one of those instances of interference in municipal affairs by a neighbouring lord or landowner, which are frequently to be met with in the history of towns.[1] Apart from the constitutional issues involved there was probably a personal side to it all, for we observe that Walton, when mayor, accused Sir Richard of living in adultery with his (the mayor's) daughter, and the troubles occur either in Walton's mayoralty or in connection with his membership of parliament.[2] We may picture the mayor, if we like, as a defender of the burgesses' rights and privileges against a haughty and hot tempered bully, who came swaggering into town from Lea or Hoghton, surrounded by his servants and retainers, seducing the wives and daughters of the peaceable townspeople and using violence to obtain the control of its government through his dependents for his nominees. On the other hand, though the picture is not so convincing, we may see in Sir Richard the upholder of the claims of the burgesses both inhabitant and foreign, against a little ruling clique who shared the municipal offices amongst themselves and levied taxes for their own benefit. We cannot but regret that we do not know more of James Walton and his antagonist Sir Richard Hoghton and of the issues involved in the struggle between them, as it would have enabled us to set forth more clearly what must have been an exciting episode in the history of the borough.

However, whatever may have been the rights and the wrongs of the matter, one thing is certain and that is that the borough soon departed from the method of electing

1. For other examples, see Freeman, *Exeter*, 164, and Hunt, *Bristol*, 61.

2. In addition to those mentioned above there had been an action about the same question in the Duchy Court in 1515–1516, in which Matthew Standish was plaintiff and Sir Richard Hoghton, James Walton, and the burgesses of Preston defendants. Abram, *Memorials*, 28.

the mayor laid down by the articles. The orders of the Gild of 1562 merely confirm those made at the Gild of 1500, whereby the mayor was chosen by a jury of twenty-four, and the general body of burgesses must consequently have lost the right of election. Only one difference is to be noted. Whereas in 1500 both the 'eleizors' were selected by the outgoing mayor, in 1562 we find the following words interlined in the orders of the Gild of that year:—'Excepted always and foreprysed that it shall be lawful to the Comonaltie being Burgesses of the said Town, or the more part of them, to elect and chuse the one of the two Ancient Burgesses from tyme to tyme for the choice of the said 24 Burgesses yerely as is aforesaid.' [1]

The charter which was granted by Philip and Mary in 1557 simply confirmed preceding grants,[2] but probably some recurrence of the disputes about the mayoralty led the authorities to apply to Elizabeth for a new charter in which the constitution of the borough and the method of election of the mayor might be expressly defined. Whether that was the case or not, the charter of 1566 deals in detail with the matter and sets out at considerable length the constitution of the borough and the franchises it was to possess.[3] After incorporating the borough under the name of the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Preston, it laid down that there should be a council of twenty-four, who should be called the principal burgesses.[4] The mayor was made coroner and a justice of the peace and the corporation was granted the right to hold a court for the trial of civil cases, and a court of

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 24.

2. Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 13.

3. *Ibid.*, 13–34.

4. The governing body was originally the Twelve of the Commonalty. See the Gild Orders of 1328 and 1397, ante, 72, 74. We are unable to say whether this charter caused the doubling of the number of the council or merely confirmed an increase previously made.

pie-poudre[1] at fair times, as well as to have the view of frank-pledge of all the inhabitants and residents within the borough as they had been accustomed to do, together with a variety of privileges which need not be set out here. In the matter of the mayoral election the method prescribed by the charter is that which prevailed under the orders of 1500, except that, instead of the mayor choosing both the 'eleizors,' he was to select one and the council the other.

But even such a sacred document as a charter could not bring peace, for in 1598 a series of orders was adopted, the first of which stated that 'great variance, stryffe, and contencon' had arisen over the question of the selection of officers, for the avoiding whereof it was 'ordered, agreed, and concluded' that in future the senior alderman should be mayor, and that succeeding mayors should be chosen from the aldermen according to their seniority.[2] This decree, though undoubtedly unconstitutional, was not, however, in all probability as revolutionary as might be imagined, for a glance at the names of the mayors of the sixteenth century shows that that position had become the monopoly of the members of a few families, such as the Waltons, the Walls, the Banasters, the Hodgkinsons, and the Catteralls, from whose ranks aldermen were drawn. On many occasions some member of these families was mayor for several years in succession, and it does not seem unlikely that this order was intended as a direction to the twenty-four to parcel out the sweets of office amongst the leading families with some degree of equality, and thus prevent one man, or one family, occupying the mayoralty for an undue length of time. But whatever was the intention of the order, it undoubtedly marks the total decay of the powers of the twenty-four, if they ever possessed any real

1. *i.e.*, pied poudré, dusty foot, in allusion to the prompt remedy offered to complainants.

2. Abram, *Memorials*, 33, 34.

powers; for, though they continued to meet from year to year and to go through certain formalities, this order, after being confirmed at the Gild of 1602, remained in force till modern times.

Another storm disturbed the municipal atmosphere about the time of the Gild of 1582, when for some unknown reason, Lawrence Wall and William Banaster, two members of the corporation, were deprived of their rights as burgesses. The families of Wall and Banaster were amongst the most important in the town and belonged to the little patrician clique which shared its government amongst themselves and these two representatives of them were not the persons to take such action quietly. Proceedings were commenced in the Court of Exchequer and the corporation in order to avoid the penalties of their conduct climbed down, reinstated the indignant gentlemen and recorded their own humiliation in a lengthy order which was indorsed on the roll of the Gild.[1]

The action of the corporation in disfranchising Lawrence Wall may have had some connection with his conduct towards George Walton, who was mayor at the Gild of 1582. From certain proceedings in the Duchy Court between these two we learn that Wall was a Puritan. When impanelled on a jury he had presented the mayor and his wife for not receiving Holy Communion according to law and had urged him to put in force the statute against common bowling alleys and unlawful playing at cards, dice and other games. He also objected to the holding of the Gild Merchant on the ground that it was a thing tending to 'mere superstitions, as appeared by the ancient records of the town,[2] the Guild beginning with a procession and a mass of the Holy Ghost,' which was not to be tolerated, but we cannot but think that he allowed his spleen to get the better of his

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 33.
2. *Ibid.*, 18.

judgment when he charged the mayor with keeping the Gild for his own 'luker and gain.'[1]

A few years later a very serious affray took place just outside the boundaries of the town between the followers of Thomas Langton, lord of the manors of Newton-in-Makerfield and Walton-le-Dale, and those of Thomas Hoghton of Lea,[2] in which Hoghton and a certain Richard Baldwin, one of Langton's adherents, were slain. The trouble arose through certain cattle belonging to Thomasine Singleton, a widow, of Staining, having been seized and impounded at Lea. Langton espoused the widow's cause and on the night of the 20th September, 1589, he assembled a considerable force on Preston Marsh, armed with a variety of weapons ranging from guns to scythes, gave them as watchword 'The crow is white,' divided them into bodies and led them to Lea to recover possession of the cattle. Hoghton, by some means or other, got wind of the movement, distributed arms amongst his servants, whose watchword was 'Black, black,' and made preparations to resist the attempt. This lawless enterprise had the serious ending which we have mentioned and some forty-seven persons were subsequently indicted for complicity in Hoghton's death. But the proceedings languished and after Langton had surrendered Walton-le-Dale to the Hoghtons, they were eventually dropped or a pardon was extended to the accused.[3]

When the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth came to an end in 1603, 'the wisest fool in Christendom' succeeded to the throne of England in the person of James I, the son of Darnley and Mary, Queen of Scots. On his return

1. Fishwick, *History*, 236–237.

2. Son of the turbulent Sir Richard, whose quarrels with the mayor we have just recounted. Lea Hall had been acquired by marriage with the heiress early in the fourteenth century. *Visitation of Lancashire*, Chetham Society, O.S., XCVIII, 48–50.

3. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1581–1590, 633, and 1591–1594, 189; Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, (4th edit.), II, 333–334.

from a visit to his native country in 1617 he passed through Preston, where on the 15th August he listened to a speech from Mr. Breres, the recorder, at the market cross, was presented with a bowl by the corporation and subsequently went to a banquet at the Gild hall. From there he passed to Hoghton Tower where he stayed and was entertained by Sir Richard Hoghton, who had recently become a baronet and exchanged the ancient and honourable title of knight for the brand new honour which had recently been devised by the king.[1] It is told that while he was here the king playfully knighted a loin of beef, but this jest has also been attributed to his grandson Charles II, and, if the legend has any historical basis at all, it would seem to fit in more aptly with what is known of the later monarch.

Another story there is of this visit in which the king appears as the victim of some practical joker. It is said that on the way to Hoghton, his attention was attracted by a huge boulder upon which an inscription was apparent. A closer inspection revealed the words:—

'Torne me o're, and I'le tel thee plaine.'

The royal curiosity was aroused and after much toil the heavy stone was turned over, when the following gratifying information was discovered:—

'Hot porritch softens hard butter cakes,
So torne me o're again.'

The king ordered the stone to be replaced and the trap set again for the next unwary person who should pass that way.[2]

About the same time John Taylor,[3] the 'water poet,' stayed in Preston and in his 'Pennyles Pilgrim' there

1. *Nicholas Assheton's Journal*, Chetham Society, O.S., XIV, 36.
2. Roby, *Traditions of Lancashire*, (1829 edit.), II, 92.
3. For Taylor, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LV, 431–438.

occur the following lines, which we quote because of the compliment to the town which is contained in them :—

"Unto my wayward lodgings often did repair,
Kind Master Thomas Banastre the mayor,
Who is of worship and of good respect,
And in his charge discreet and circumspect;
For I protest to God I never saw
A town more wisely governed by the law."

Some twelve or thirteen years later Preston was visited by a very curious character. This was Richard Brathwaite,[1] a native of Burneside, near Kendal, who recorded his wanderings up and down England in a rhymed Latin poem which he called the 'Itinerarium or Barnabee's Journal.' An English translation in a kind of doggerel verse was subsequently published under the title of 'Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys,' and it contains the following reference to his stay in Preston :—

"Thence to Preston, I was led-a,
To brave Banister's to bed-a;
As two born and bred together,
We were presently sworn brether.
Seven days were there assigned:
Oft I supped, but never dined."

It must have been within a month or two of 'Drunken Barnaby's' leaving the town that Preston entertained an awful and ghastly visitor. In the month of November, 1630, there appear in the registers of the parish church above the entries of burials for the month, the significant words, so terrible in their simplicity,

HEARE BEGINETH THE VISITATION OF ALLMIGHTY GOD THE PLAGUE.[2]

With the possible exception of the Black Death this was the severest outbreak of sickness ever known in the

1. For Brathwaite, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, VI, 233–234
2. Smith, *Records*, 220.

annals of the town. Commencing on the 10th November, 1630, the epidemic raged for a whole year and slew over 1100 people.[1] It reached its height in July and August of the following year, and some idea of its virulence may be obtained by observing that the registers record the burial of 599 persons during those two months alone, while the average number of deaths for the years immediately preceding the outbreak was only eighty per annum.[2] In order to relieve the distress that prevailed in the borough the justices ordered that the whole county should be charged with the weekly sum of £60 towards the relief of the inhabitants of Preston and directed that fuel and provisions should be brought to some convenient place near to the town where the wretched sufferers might resort to buy them. During the week ending April 30th, 1631, no less than 1,390 persons received various sums ranging from 9d. to 1/- from the money thus raised, but by August 16th of the same year the population had been so far reduced by death and flight that there were only 887 persons living in the town.[3] One account states that 'the town was depopulated and corn rotted upon the ground for want of reapers,'[4] and that it had a most serious effect upon the trade and prosperity of the town is evidenced by the petition presented to the Privy Council in the year 1633 or 1634 by the recently formed Company of Drapers, &c., which sets forth that, 'Your petitioners at the present doe consist of very neere 80 poore persons which doe bear Scott and Lott. . . . But nowe soe it is, that the said Burrough having beene within these three years last past grieviously visited with the Plague and Pestilence which infec'con continued amongst them a whole yeare or thereabouts; and thereby your Petitioners and others of the surviveing inhabitants for that tyme

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 42.

2. Smith, *Records*, 209–221.

3. *Kenyon MSS.*, Hist. MSS. Comm., Fourteenth Report, Append., Part IV, 44–46.

4. *Diary of Rev. Edward Burghall* quoted by Fishwick, *History*, 49.

were altogether barred from the exercise of their trades, and soe are become very muche impoverished and weakened in their estates.'[1] Though we have no detailed account of its ravages, yet the figures we have given are eloquent and make it clear that on a smaller scale it must have been as terrible and as deadly as the Great Plague which visited London in 1665.

Owing doubtless in a large measure to the fact that Lancashire was somewhat out-of-the-world, the county had hitherto escaped those national disturbances which from time to time had interfered with the peace and quietness of other parts of the country. But storm clouds had been gradually gathering which, when they broke, were to spare no part of England and to give even the far north and the remote south-west their separate tales of battles won and lost and sieges laid and raised. The causes that led up to the outbreak of the Great Civil War cannot be laid bare here: they must be sought for in the general histories of our country and not in the annals of a provincial town. It is sufficient to say that the prime factor was the growth of the English people in the art of self government, and their natural desire to exercise the art which they had acquired. At the close of the Wars of the Roses the great noble houses, whose members had exercised the chief check upon the power of the crown, had been decimated and the king and the people stood face to face over the bodies of the peers. Sick and tired of the quarrels of factions and the other internal troubles which had scarcely allowed the country any rest from the accession of Richard II to the death of Richard III, what his subjects demanded of their king was not a share in the government of the country—for that they were not as yet prepared—but rather that he should rule them with a strong, firm hand, that they might be able to live their lives and go about their businesses with the certain knowledge that if they were to suffer burdensome taxation they

1. Abram, *Memorials*, 42.

would at any rate be freed from the lawless exactions and petty tyranny of the lords. This was what they asked, and this was what the Tudor monarchs gave. Henry VIII and Elizabeth, though nominally deferring to the wishes of the people and in a large measure actually governing in accordance with them, were really absolute monarchs in all but name. Yet towards the close of the reign of the last of the Tudor line there were signs that the end of this state of affairs was in sight and that the burgesses and country gentlemen would shortly claim a larger and more real and active share in the governing of the realm. The wise old queen met the exhibitions of this growing spirit with a tactfulness that only served to strengthen her position and to endear her more than ever to her subjects. But the stupid Stuarts who succeeded her, in persisting in claiming as of right and without abatement the powers, which Elizabeth had held by consent and exercised with discretion aroused the dormant spirit of the nation, and plunged the kingdom into a long and bloody civil war until in the final event they were driven from the throne.

This fairly clear issue as to whether or not the Commons should be permitted to play their part on the stage of government was somewhat complicated by the introduction of the religious question. With the growth of the Puritans, who demanded a simplified ritual in the national church service and the abolition of certain practices which they regarded as superstitious, there had also arisen certain sects, like the Independents, who stood outside the national church. The attitude of James I and Charles I to both these sets of people was one of simple repression, and strict adherence to the forms and ceremonies of the church was required under severe pains and penalties. The consequence not unnaturally was that those who had suffered at the hands of the bishops were to be found on the same side as those who resented the king's claim to levy taxes without the consent of parliament, while on the other hand the king, who stood in danger at one time

of having the vast majority of the nation against him, recovered much of the ground which he had lost when it was seen that he was in some sort the defender of the national church.

When the king and the parliament resorted to arms the interweaving of these different issues led to curious divisions amongst the people. Roughly speaking it may be said that the east and south supported the parliament and the west and north the king, and that in the different ranks of society the nobility and county gentry were royalists and the yeomen and townspeople were parliamentarians. But this is only a generalization, for in nearly every locality each side had its supporters and the forces of the parliament obtained many of their leaders from the ranks of the aristocracy.

Our own county offers an excellent example of the confusion which was to be found nearly everywhere when war broke out in 1642.[1] The great family of Stanley was on the side of the king and its head James, Lord Strange, who shortly became the seventh earl of Derby, was his main supporter and the most striking figure in this district and in the adjoining county of Cheshire, but the family was not entirely united in its policy, for Sir Thomas Stanley of Bickerstaffe, a member of a younger branch and the ancestor of the present Earl, was an adherent of the parliament. Another prominent and well known royalist was Sir Gilbert Hoghton of Hoghton : his eldest son however, was to be found on the popular side. Putting on one side the titled families of Stanley and Molyneux, probably the most influential name, in Lancashire at this time was that of Assheton. The three main branches of this stock were settled at Middleton, Whalley and Downham, near Clitheroe, and were parlia-

1. In the following pages the writer has closely followed Mr. Ernest Broxap, whose recently published book on *The Civil War in Lancashire, 1642—1651* (Manch. Univ. Press, 1910) is founded upon a careful study of all the available material and shows very clearly the intensely local character of the First Civil War in the county.

mentarians, but another branch which lived at Chadderton took part in the war on the king's side. Thomas Standish of Duxbury, near Chorley, was a sound if not enthusiastic parliament man and shared the representation of Preston in the Long Parliament in that interest with Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, near Padiham, but his son Captain Thomas Standish was killed while taking part in Lord Strange's attack on Manchester. These instances could be increased but probably sufficient have been given to establish the truth of the statement made above and to reveal the irregularity of the line which divided the opposing forces.

A similar confusion is to be observed when we attempt to apportion the county between the two parties on a geographical basis. At the commencement of the war the parliament was stronger than the king in the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn and the towns of Bolton and Manchester, while the reverse was the case in the remaining hundreds of Lonsdale, Amounderness, Leyland and West Derby and the towns of Preston, Wigan, Warrington and Liverpool, but it must be remembered that opponents were always present even in the party strongholds. Preston itself is a case in point. At the outset the Stanley influence and the presence of a large number of Catholics in the town and neighbourhood, who as a body were generally royalists, combined with the exertion of a few enthusiasts amongst the townspeople like Adam Morte, held the town for the king, but its support was apparently only half hearted if we are to allow any weight to the fact, already mentioned, that its representatives were parliamentarians and to the quarrel which ensued between Morte and the town council owing to his desire to devote his time to acting as a commissioner of array and his consequent refusal of the office of mayor.

It was the place chosen for a sort of royalist prelude to the outbreak of hostilities. Lord Strange called a 'randavous' there of most of the county for the 20th June, 1642, to hear read two declarations of the king's

and his reply to a petition from Lancashire. An effort was made to hinder the meeting by Richard Shuttleworth, one of the borough members, and by that stalwart parliamentarian, Alexander Rigby of Middleton Hall in Goosnargh, near Preston, but the attempt was made too late and five thousand persons assembled on Fulwood Moor close to the town and gave a shout for the king. Immediately afterwards both sides began to prepare for hostilities, the royalists raising troops under the king's commissioners of array and their opponents putting the militia ordinance into force. Preston, Wigan, and Warrington were garrisoned for the king and the magazine at the first named place seized, but an attempt to capture that at Manchester was frustrated. On August 22nd Charles raised his standard at Nottingham and on September 24th Lord Strange commenced the war in Lancashire by marching on Manchester, which was held for the parliament.

The siege of Manchester lasted for six days, and then was raised. The result was a great blow to the king's cause in the county and a correspondingly great triumph to his enemies. Had Manchester fallen, the Earl of Derby and his captains would probably have quickly overpowered all resistance in other places and thus left his troops free to join the king and take part in the larger conflict that was in process elsewhere. As it was, the retention of the town not only secured for the Lancashire parliamentarians a foothold in the county, but gave them the control of one of the routes to the south. It also inspired them with confidence to take an active part in the prosecution of the war and to carry it into the enemy's country. With Manchester as a base and with its garrison as a nucleus they began to make expeditions into the surrounding districts which had varying results but on the whole were justified by their success. By far the most noteworthy of these was that which resulted in the capture of Preston early in February, 1643.

Though Warrington was, from the strategical point of

view as commanding the passage across the Mersey to Cheshire, the most important of the towns occupied by the royalists, and Wigan as being nearest to Lathom House, the seat of the Stanleys, was 'the most malignant town in the county,' yet Preston, owing doubtless to its central position, was the scene of great activity on the part of Lord Derby and those who acted with him. Two royalist meetings were held there towards the end of the year, at the second of which collectors were appointed for every hundred, to raise the sum of £8,700, with which to pay 2,000 foot and 400 horse and to provide a magazine. Adam Morte was appointed one of the collectors for Amounderness, and he and Sir John Girlington, the sheriff, with two others were constituted a standing council at Preston, which was garrisoned by a force of 300 men and became a kind of refuge for the neighbourhood, many Roman Catholics resorting there during the winter. It was clearly to the advantage of the Manchester leaders to break up this nest of royalists as soon as possible and this they resolved to attempt.

Accordingly on the evening of February 6th three companies of Manchester foot and a similar number from Bolton left Manchester under the command of Sir John Seaton and arrived at Blackburn the following night, where they received reinforcements which brought their numbers up to 1,000 men and 600 clubmen. Late on the next night they set off from there for Preston, which is some ten miles away, and having successfully crossed the bridge over the Ribble, commenced the attack on the town about half-past seven on Thursday morning, February 9th. A small body of men was detached to try to gain an entrance to the town from the south but the main assault was delivered at the eastern or Church Street end. The royalists had not anticipated the movement and had reduced the garrison, though during their occupation they had taken the precaution to fortify the town with outer and inner walls of brick. The capture seems to have been eventually accomplished by some of

the troops effecting an entry into the town through a house and then taking the defenders in the rear. Whether that was so or not, at the end of two hours' stubborn hand-to-hand fighting with sword and pike the defence was driven in and the few who had taken refuge in the church tower were compelled to surrender when fire was opened upon them. 'So soon as matters were settled' the devout Presbyterians from Manchester and Bolton sang praises to God in the street, and 'the sun brake forth and shined brightly and hot, in the time of the exercise as if it had been Midsummer.'[1] In the ranks of the defenders there were slain Adam Morte and his son, Captain Hoghton, a brother of Sir Gilbert, and a 'Popish doctor,' Dr. Westby, with a few others, while a considerable number of prominent royalists were captured, including old Mr. Anderton of Clayton, the commander of the garrison. On the other side only three or four of the common soldiers were killed, and at this small cost the parliamentary party possessed themselves of the royalist headquarters north of the Ribble and broke their line of communication with Carlisle and Newcastle.

Amongst the officers who were under Sir John Seaton's command was a well-known military engineer, John Rosworm, a German by birth, who had directed the defence of Manchester when it was besieged by Lord Strange, and after Preston had been taken he was at once set to work to strengthen its defences. The next step taken by the parliamentary leaders was to send detachments to seize Hoghton Tower and Lancaster, both of which places surrendered without striking a blow, though an unfortunate explosion at the first named place resulted in the death of Captain Starkie and sixty of his men.

However, after these successes the tide turned and flowed for a time in favour of the royalists. Certain guns had been taken by the parliamentary troops from a

1. *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, Chetham Society, O.S., II, 73.

Spanish ship which had gone ashore at Rossall and carried by them to Lancaster to strengthen the fortifications there. Lord Derby resolved to capture them and crossing the Ribble he marched through the Fylde and appeared before Lancaster with a force which had been swollen by additions until it numbered some 4,600 men. The garrison betook themselves to the castle, which the royalists made no attempt to take but devoted their attention to plundering and burning the town. Hearing that reinforcements were on their way from Preston under the command of Seaton and Colonel Ralph Assheton the Earl withdrew to the south and eluding the approaching enemy marched post haste to the town which he reached about 10 o'clock at night on March 20th. The numbers of the troops there had been diminished by the forces which had been sent to Lancaster but the demand for its surrender was refused by Edmund Werden, the mayor. The defence however was conducted without spirit and many of the defenders made their escape, so that an hour's fighting sufficed to enable the royalists to regain possession of the town which they had lost about five weeks previously, a result which was hailed with joy by the townspeople and those who lived in the neighbourhood, who generally were royalist in sympathy. As disaffection had broken out among the troops at Lancaster with whom Sir John Seaton was most unpopular, it was not found possible to attempt the recovery of Preston and Lord Derby, after permitting the soldiers under his command to plunder the houses of the disaffected, destroyed the defences and departed for Bolton.

The recapture of Preston marks the climax reached by the royalist cause in the county. The operations against Lancaster and Preston had been admirably designed and speedily executed and had Lord Derby shown equal skill in his subsequent conduct of the war and made the most of the advantage which he held, things must have gone badly with the disorganized troops of the parliament. As it was the loss of Preston was quickly counterbalanced

by the capture of Wigan, though it was not held for long, and an attempt on Warrington on April 5th, which it was confidently anticipated would prove successful, was beaten off. After inflicting this reverse on the enemy Lord Derby returned to Preston and prepared to attack them in the Blackburn hundred. With this object he marched along the north bank of the Ribble, crossed the river at Salesbury and proceeded to Whalley where he found Colonel Shuttleworth in command of a small force. In spite of the great disparity in numbers the parliamentarians were completely successful in the battle that ensued, and followed up their victory by occupying Whalley.

The parliamentarians were prompt to follow up the advantage they had gained. In quick succession Liverpool, Wigan and Warrington fell into their hands and pushing northwards they captured Hornby Castle and received the submission of its neighbour at Thurland, until by the end of June, 1643, Lathom House and Greenhalgh Castle, near Garstang, were the only places in Lancashire where the royalist flag was flying, and the only military operations that it was found necessary to carry out in the county during the rest of the year were the second siege of Thurland Castle and the defeat of the Westmorland royalists who were marching to its relief.

In the following February it was decided to besiege Lathom House. Operations were accordingly commenced but the besiegers were kept at bay until May 27th, when, on the news of the approach of Prince Rupert, they raised the siege and marched to Bolton. The next day Rupert and the Earl of Derby appeared before that town and after a fierce and bloody conflict in which the parliamentarians suffered great losses the town was captured. After besieging and taking Liverpool, Rupert, who had been joined by Lord Goring, set off with some 15,000 men for York, which was beset by the parliamentarians.

The easiest route to York was by the Ribble valley and he consequently proceeded to Preston, which must have again passed into the hands of the parliamentarians

shortly after the battle of Whalley, though as after that event there could have been little or no hope of the Lancashire royalists establishing communications with the other forces of the king outside the county, its possession cannot have been of as much moment as it was formerly. When the prince arrived at Preston he was offered a banquet but he refused it, saying, 'Banquets are not fit for soldiers,' and clenched his impoliteness by seizing the mayor, William Cottam, and the bailiffs, William Patten and James Benson, and carrying them off to Skipton.

This action of Rupert's is illuminating, as, taken in conjunction with the political colour of the parliamentary representation of the borough and certain other incidents, it shows us that though the inhabitants of Preston and the neighbourhood were royalist in their sympathies, the governing body of the town was parliamentarian. When Adam Morte refused to accept the office of mayor the corporation 'having maturely considered of the indignity and disgrace' put upon them fined him 100 marks,[1] whereas if the members had been royalists they would probably have excused him and allowed him to devote himself to furthering the cause of the king. The mayor for the previous year was Edmund Werden, and, after legal advice had been taken, he was continued in his office 'untill the said Adam Morte doe come in And take his Oath for the execucon of the same.'[2] As we have seen Morte was killed in the following February, and Werden, who was in charge of the town when the Earl of Derby appeared before it in March, refused to surrender it and compelled the Earl to take it by assault. As for the unfortunate mayor and bailiffs who were carried off, they were kept prisoners in Skipton castle for twelve weeks, but the corporation made them some amends on their release by ordering that the sum of twenty pounds should

1. *White Book*, October 19th, 1642.
2. *Ibid.*, November 3rd, 1642.

be paid to them for the charges and expenses to which they had been put.[1]

Within three weeks Rupert passed through Preston again, but his second visit was very different from his first. Then his appearance in Lancashire had put the royalists in possession of much of the ground that they had lost and almost restored the balance of power in the county. In the interval Rupert had joined the royalist army in Yorkshire and on July 2nd had taken part in the battle of Marston Moor, which proved a decisive blow to the king's cause. Consequently when he returned to Lancashire immediately after the battle, he came as a fugitive whose chief anxiety was to put as large a distance as possible between himself and the enemy. From Hornby Castle he scurried through the Fylde to Preston and from there to Hale Ford where he crossed the Mersey into Cheshire.

The fate of the troops that he left behind him was soon decided. Sir John Meldrum was sent from York with 1000 horse to the assistance of the local parliamentarians. One or two skirmishes occurred at Walton-le-dale, near Preston, as a result of which an isolated force of royalists was scattered. But the main body of them were in the Fylde, near Kirkham and Lytham, busily engaged in plundering. Having located them, Meldrum assembled his troops at Penwortham and prepared to cross the Ribble to attack them at Freckleton, but not being sufficiently acquainted with the fords he found it necessary to cross the river by the bridge at Preston and proceed down the north bank. On the news of his approach the royalists forded the river and hastened south. Meldrum accordingly retraced his steps and coming up with the enemy at Ormskirk defeated and scattered them, many finding refuge by fleeing into Cheshire. After this he laid siege to Liverpool, which resisted for ten weeks before surrendering on November 1st, 1644. Greenhalgh Castle, near Garstang, had been surrendered in June, so that after the

1. *White Book*, September 30th, October 4th, 1644.

taking of Liverpool the only place in Lancashire that the royalists could call their own was Lathom House. The second siege of this celebrated house was begun about the end of the year and lingered on for twelve months. The end came at last on December 3rd, 1645, and with its fall the Civil War came to an end in Lancashire and the unfortunate county had a chance to recover from the misfortunes it had suffered.

The chief characteristic of the first Civil War in Lancashire is its unity and completeness, which is not to be paralleled in any other part of the country. As the county was cut off from the rest of England by those natural boundaries to which we have frequently had occasion to refer, the conflict was fought out with little assistance from outside and ran its career almost independently of the general course of the struggle. The incursion of Rupert on the one side and the force sent with Meldrum on the other are isolated exceptions which merely serve to prove the rule. From the siege of Manchester to the fall of Lathom House the war in the county was in the main fought by and between Lancashire troops commanded by Lancashire men. The Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and Colonel Rawstorne opposed Colonels Assheton, Rigby and Shuttleworth, not with forces sent by the Duke of Newcastle or Sir Thomas Fairfax, but with troops they had raised from the locality at a general muster or a 'rendezvous,' and when they paid their men, which, it must be confessed, was not very regularly, it was by money which was obtained by local assessments or contributions. On the other hand, though they did not receive help they frequently gave it and the success of the Lancashire parliamentarians is to some extent to be attributed to the Earl of Derby's bad strategy in stripping the county of royalist troops to send to the assistance of the king, before he had placed the local issue beyond doubt. As the struggle continued this local character gradually gave the war an added bitterness and intensity, which was

exemplified in the savagery that followed the capture of Bolton, in the subsequent execution of the Earl of Derby and in the universal plundering and devastating of the estates of opponents, though it is only fair to say that some part of the last mentioned misconduct was probably caused by the fact that the pay of the soldiers was habitually in arrear.

In the country at large the first Civil War came to an end in May, 1646, when Charles surrendered to the Scots. Had the king been a reasonable or even an honourable man there was no reason why there should have been further hostilities, but he was under the delusion that he had only to hold out to be accepted on his own terms and he attempted to play off, first the parliament against the Scots, then the army against the parliament, and finally the Scots against the army, until no section of the community could put any trust in him. After much intriguing he eventually entered into the *Engagement* with the Scots and undertook to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years.

The real power in England at this time lay not with the parliament but with the army, which had been remodelled and in the hands of Oliver Cromwell had become one of the most perfect instruments of war that has ever been seen. The men who formed it were generally members of one or other of the numerous sects which collectively were known by the name of the greatest of them, the Independents, and were in favour of universal toleration for all forms of religious belief except 'popery.' Toleration was as abhorrent to the Presbyterians of the parliament as it was to the Anglicans who supported the king, but the army was so strong that it took the king into its own charge and the parliament was powerless to act except in accordance with its wishes. Revolts against this condition of affairs broke out in Wales and the south eastern counties in the middle of 1648, and part of the fleet also declared for the king. Thus commenced the second Civil War. These risings would not have

taken long to suppress, but matters became more serious when the Scots decided to invade England to place Charles on the throne and to carry out the *Engagement*.

Before this the royalists were already 'up' in the north and under Sir Marmaduke Langdale had occupied Carlisle. Colonel Lambert with a small force, which included some Lancashire troops under Assheton and Rigby, went north to hold them in check, but when the Scots finally crossed the border under the Duke of Hamilton on July 8th, 1648, as he was not strong enough to offer them battle, he retreated slowly in the direction of Yorkshire to wait for the reinforcements which Cromwell was bringing. Much time was wasted before the Scots moved further south, as Hamilton stayed for artillery and for further reinforcements, so that it was not until August 9th that they entered Lancashire.

The soldiers that composed Hamilton's army were not to be compared to the troops of the New Model, but an even greater source of weakness was the inefficiency of Hamilton and the insubordination of his generals. The Earl of Callander, his lieutenant-general, openly thwarted him, while Sir George Munro who had arrived at Kendal with 3,000 veterans from Ulster, refused in turn to take any orders from Callander. To solve the latter difficulty, Hamilton ordered Munro to bring up the rear, with the consequence that the best troops in his army were placed where they were least likely to be of value instead of being used to strengthen the ranks of the recruits. The regulation, or rather the want of regulation, of the march also invited disaster. All told the Scots and royalists numbered from 21,000 to 24,000 men, but instead of advancing as a compact force the royalists under Langdale marched to the west of the main body through Yorkshire, while the Scots meandered and straggled over some fifty miles of the county of Lancaster with Callander and the cavalry in the front, Hamilton and the infantry in the middle and Munro and his Ulster Scots bringing up the rear.

Lambert meanwhile had withdrawn to a point between Knaresborough and Wetherby, where he was daily expecting the arrival of Cromwell, who having crushed a royalist rebellion in Pembrokeshire was hurrying with all speed to his assistance. Having passed through Leicester and Nottingham, he stayed for three days at Doncaster in order to pick up his artillery train which was on its way from Hull, and finally joined forces with Lambert on August 13th. As Cromwell had to leave two regiments behind to deal with a revolt at Scarborough, the two armies, even when united, did not amount to 9,000 men, but this disparity in numbers was more than compensated for by the superiority in the calibre of the troops and the generalship of their leader.

After his junction with Lambert, Cromwell lost no time. Though he had waited for three valuable days for his artillery he ultimately decided to leave it behind that his movements might not be impeded in crossing the hills into Lancashire. Proceeding by Otley and Skipton he arrived at Gisburn on the 15th, and marched to Clitheroe the next day. At the bridge over the Ribble[1] a council

1. In his despatch to Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Cromwell writes that on the 15th they arrived at Gisburn and on the 16th at 'Hodder Bridge over Ribble,' and goes on to say that a council of war was held at the latter place to decide whether they should march to Whalley that night or 'march immediately over the said bridge, there being no other betwixt that and Preston.' Local historians have assumed that 'Hodder Bridge over Ribble' is an error for 'Hodder Bridge over Hodder.' Mr. Broxap has surmised that it should be 'Clitheroe Bridge over Ribble.' We believe Mr. Broxap's reading to be the correct one. Moreover the words 'Hodder Bridge over Ribble' do not offer in themselves an insuperable difficulty, as they may be interpreted to mean the bridge over the Ribble leading to the Hodder.

Having crossed the Ribble at Clitheroe, Cromwell had also to cross the Hodder, and the bridge which he made use of to cross the latter stream would be 'the lower bridge,' which is still standing, though it is no longer used, as a more modern one has been built about fifty yards away. See *Civil War Tracts*, Chetham Society, O.S., II, 259; Hardwick, *History*, 187n.; and Broxap, *Civil War*, 165.

of war was held to decide the important question as to whether they should proceed to Whalley and down the south bank of the Ribble in order to interpose themselves between the Scots and the road to the south, or whether they should cross the Ribble and its tributary the Hodder and then march along the north bank through Stonyhurst and Longridge to Preston. It was decided to adopt the second alternative, and though we write with a knowledge of the event, we cannot doubt but that this was the wiser course. Had Cromwell placed himself in front of the Scotch advance, Hamilton would probably have stayed at Preston, which is not easy to attack from the south and refused to engage until he had called in Langdale from the west and the laggards had arrived from the rear, when he might reasonably have hoped to overwhelm Cromwell by sheer weight of numbers. On the other hand to march straight for Preston offered the advantages of a flank attack, and an immediate engagement with the enemy. On Cromwell's advance Langdale had withdrawn his troops from Settle in the direction of Preston and their intervention between Cromwell and the main body of the Scotch army probably prevented the former obtaining as much intelligence of the disposition of the enemy as he could have wished. But some information he must have had, for his dispatches make it clear that he was aware that Munro had not yet joined Hamilton, and if his scouts had informed him of the disorderly way in which the Scots were marching, an immediate advance on Preston furnished a reasonable prospect of cutting the enemy in two, and defeating them in detail.[1]

1. In describing the campaign of Preston we have generally preferred Professor Gardiner's account to that given by Mr. Broxap, though we cannot but think that, for the reasons urged above, the former has done some injustice to Cromwell's strategy. See Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, (edit. in four vols.), IV, 184, and compare Colonel Clark's defence of Cromwell in *Studies in Practical Topography* (published for the Manchester Tactical Society by J. E. Cornish Ltd., 1909), 37–43.

Accordingly he crossed the Ribble and pitched his camp that night at Stonyhurst, the seat of the Sherbornes, about 9 miles from the town. Early the next morning the march to Preston was resumed. As was customary a 'forlorn' or advance guard,[1] consisting of 200 horse and 400 foot under the command of Major Smithson and Major Pownall, was sent forward to get in touch with the enemy. They came upon a party of Langdale's royalists in some enclosed ground near Ribbleton Moor, and compelled them to retreat, taking several prisoners. In the meantime the main body of the army had advanced and found the enemy occupying a strong position on each side of a deep lane leading to the town with hedges on either side which were utilized as cover.[2] Cromwell decided to carry the lane by a cavalry charge and accordingly posted his own and Harrison's regiments of horse in the centre supporting them on either flank with regiments of foot, those of Colonels Read, Dean and Pride being on the right, and those of Colonel Bright and Sir Thomas Fairfax on the left. Assheton and the Lancashire foot were in reserve and regiments of horse were placed behind the centre and each wing to act in the same capacity. This unusual disposition of the parliamentary forces was probably necessitated by two causes, the miry condition of the ground, due to an extremely wet August, and the existence of hedges, both of which made it difficult for the cavalry to manœuvre.

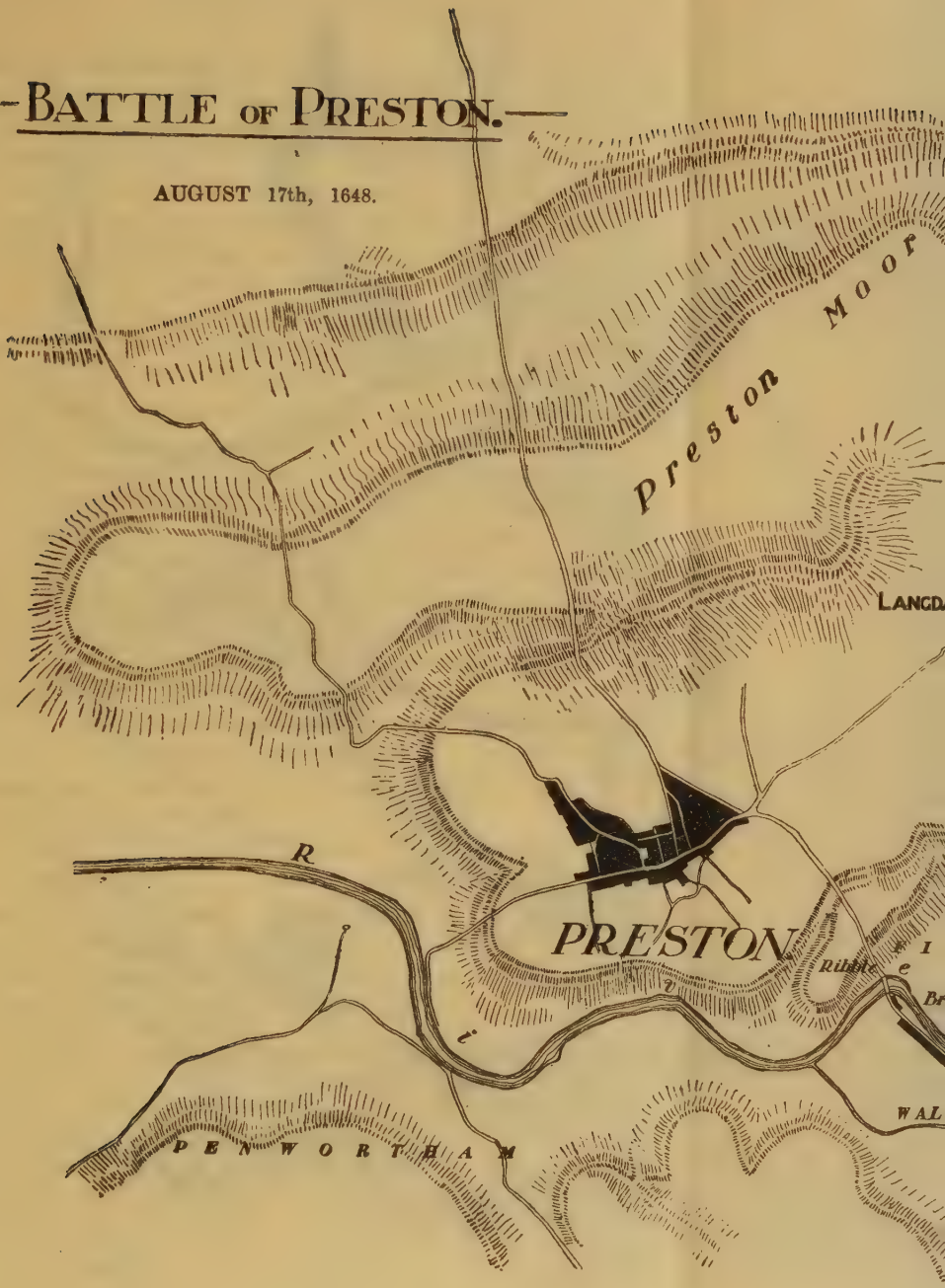
As has been said the enemy with whom Cromwell was about to join battle were the royalists under Langdale.

1. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 103.

2. Hardwick states that the deep lane was to the south of the present road to Longridge. This may be so, but it must have been in the same depression through which the modern highway runs, close to the place where the hill leading into Preston is known as Slack Brow. The Ordnance Map marks the site of the battle as a little to the east of the Fulwood Barracks, but this seems incorrect, though the right wing of Cromwell's army was possibly extended as far. Hardwick, *History*, 188n., 196.

BATTLE OF PRESTON.

AUGUST 17th, 1648.



GRIMSARGH
ELSTON
CROMWELL.
RIBBLETON
SLACK BROW
SALMESBURY
TO CLITHEROE
CUERDALE
HWICK
Darwen
N-LE-DALE
River
TO WIGAN
F.N.PHOSE

On the 16th when Cromwell was approaching Stonyhurst the Scotch cavalry under Callander had crossed the Ribble and were on the way to Wigan. The next day Hamilton arrived in Preston and either ignorant of the close proximity of Cromwell or with a reckless disregard of his danger, gave orders for the infantry to follow the cavalry. Before they were carried out, however, news came that Langdale was being attacked by Cromwell in the fields to the north east of the town. He accordingly countermanded his previous orders and sent a messenger after the cavalry with instructions for them to return at once. At this point Callander again differed from his commander and urged that to allow the foot to take part in the battle without the assistance of the cavalry was to invite defeat and that the better plan was to permit them to cross the river and join the cavalry and then to hold the bridge over the Ribble until Langdale fell back and joined them. It is obvious that this plan was simply a selfish sacrifice of Langdale in an attempt to ensure the safety of the Scotch army.[1] Hamilton foolishly allowed himself to be overruled, and instead of hurrying to Langdale's support with all available troops, he permitted the march to continue and left the royalists to fight unaided, except for a small body of horse which he collected and led to their assistance.

In spite of the odds against him Langdale made a stubborn resistance. The conflict was hottest in the centre about the lane, and on the left wing, where the reserves of Lancashire infantry came into action. On the right the regiments under Dean and Pride had been extended so far for fear of a flanking movement that they

1. It was a tactical blunder also, for the bridge was commanded by the hill down which the road led from the town. The bridge was not the present one, which was built in 1782, but an older structure about 90 yards further down the stream—possibly the stone bridge that was built in the reign of Henry IV after the previous wooden one had been broken by floods and ice. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry IV, 1401–1405, 236, and *ibid.*, Henry IV, 1405–1408, 376.

were able to take but little part in the fighting. It was not until the battle had lasted four hours that the royalists gave way, some retreating towards the bridge over the Ribble and others fleeing into the town from which they were dislodged by Harrison's and Cromwell's regiments of horse and chased in the direction of Lancaster.

The bridge over the Ribble which had been barricaded by the Scots was next attacked by Assheton's and Fairfax's regiments of foot and after fierce fighting, in which the opposing troops were often at 'push of pike,' the parliamentarians possessed themselves of it and driving their opponents before them captured the bridge over the Darwen also. By this time night had fallen and Cromwell and his tired troops encamped at Walton-le-dale, while the Scots continued their flight. Leaving Assheton and the Lancashire horse and foot at Preston with the prisoners, who numbered 4,000, Cromwell took up the pursuit again the next day, and the cavalry harassed Hamilton's rear all the way to Wigan. On the following day the Scots were compelled to turn and give battle at Winwick, three miles from Warrington, and after several hours fighting in which they lost 1,000 men they were driven into Warrington, where the infantry surrendered. Hamilton and Callander, however, with about 3,000 cavalry crossed the Mersey and proceeded towards Nantwich, followed by Lambert and attacked by the train bands of the counties they passed through, until diminished in numbers, wearied in body and broken in spirit the army surrendered at Uttoxeter on August 22nd.

After the defeat at Preston some of the royalist horse under Sir Thomas Tyldesley proceeded northwards and joined Munro. Tyldesley vainly urged the latter to advance and take Cromwell in the rear, but he refused and withdrew to Scotland whither Cromwell followed him. After this the fighting in Lancashire was soon over. The royalists who were still in arms were harried and driven from place to place by Assheton and his troops until they surrendered at Appleby on October 9th when

the distressed county knew peace once more. Of its miserable condition there can be no doubt. The Scots had plundered and devastated the whole length of their march, the burden of supporting the numerous prisoners had impoverished it, trade had decayed, a wet summer had spoiled the crops and the plague had been raging for three years. The headway which had been made in the time which intervened between the two wars had been lost and the general condition of the county was more desperate than before. The miseries which it had endured during the first Civil War were inflicted by its own inhabitants, those which it suffered during the second were in some sort fortuitous and due to its misfortune in being in the line of the Scotch advance. For though the Lancashire regiments took part in the Preston campaign and though a few prominent royalists joined Langdale there is no evidence that the people generally took part on either side.

Even with the campaign of Preston the tale of the misfortunes of the county is not yet ended. Only two years passed before the Scots entered it again and though the invasion of 1651 was very different from that of 1648 it yet sufficed to kindle once more the dying embers of the Civil War, which burnt with a pale and sickly flame until they were quenched for ever in the noblest blood of Lancashire.

In June, 1650, Charles II landed in Scotland where he took the covenant and was crowned king, and the Scots prepared to restore monarchy and Presbyterianism in England by force of arms. The English on the other hand were equally determined to expel him from the kingdom and Cromwell having invaded Scotland with 16,000 men routed Leslie and the Scots on September 3rd at Dunbar. The following year hostilities were resumed and Lambert having turned the flank of the Scots and made their position untenable, they resolved to attempt the desperate remedy of invading England. They began their march in June and coming by Penrith and Kendal

they arrived at Lancaster on August 11th. The night of August 13th the king spent at Myerscough Lodge, near Garstang, the residence of Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and the next day he arrived at Preston, where he rode on horseback through all the streets of the town but without exciting much enthusiasm or obtaining many recruits. The following day they reached Warrington and being successful in capturing the bridge over the Mersey which was held by some troops Lambert had detailed for that purpose, proceeded through Cheshire on their march south.

Having accompanied them thus far on their hazardous enterprise we must now return to Lancashire. On August 16th, the day after the Scots had successfully crossed the Mersey the Earl of Derby, who had been living in retirement in the Isle of Man, landed on Preesall Sands, near the mouth of the Wyre. A few days later a meeting of the royalist leaders was held at Warrington at which it was decided to raise 1,300 horse and 6,000 foot, but the failure to obtain the support of the Presbyterians and the general desire for peace made it impossible to collect even one fifth of the number agreed on. From Warrington Derby proceeded to Preston where he held a rendezvous on August 23rd.

Meanwhile the parliamentarians had not been inactive. A small force was collected and the ships and crews which had brought the Earl were seized and the latter taken as prisoners to Preston. Evan Wall, the mayor, and others of the principal inhabitants seem to have taken a considerable part in the enterprise and they received the grant of a barque with its tackle for their services and for the expenses to which the borough was put in maintaining the prisoners.[1]

While the loss of their ships was annoying, they were threatened with more serious danger still. Robert Lilburne with his regiment was dispatched to the county

1. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1651–52, 97.

and encamped first at Brindle, and afterwards at Hoghton, within easy reach of Preston, in order to watch the operations of the royalists and to wait for the reinforcements which were being sent him. The royalists decided to try to intercept these and with this object in view they marched out of Preston about midnight on Sunday, August 24th. Lilburne heard of the movement early the next morning and posting after them overtook them and routed them near Wigan. Amongst those who fell was the gallant and chivalrous royalist Sir Thomas Tyldesley. The Earl of Derby managed to escape and succeeded in joining Charles. He was present at the battle of Worcester (September 3rd) but was captured a few days later, tried for treason at Chester and eventually beheaded at Bolton on October 15th. This skirmish, for the numbers of the troops engaged scarcely entitle it to be called a battle, and the execution of Lord Derby mark the termination of the Civil War in the county and like the rest of the country it settled down to endure with what patience it might the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the domination of the army, and 'the rule of the saints.'

When the Restoration took place and the king came into his own again the event was celebrated in Preston with all outward signs of loyalty and rejoicing and it is quite probable that the joy was sincere and unfeigned. Though Oliver's government had been firm and masterly, its general success could not disguise the fact that it was a tyranny and depended for its support on the army and not on the will of the people. Preston too had adopted Presbyterianism and both Presbyterians and Anglicans longed for the day when the power should be taken from the Independents, while the Roman Catholics, who obtained toleration from no party in the state, had everything to hope and nothing to fear from the return of a king who had been brought up abroad.

Still the change was not brought about locally without some little friction. The corporation found it necessary to surrender their charter with a view to a fresh grant

being made. Whether this was done voluntarily or under compulsion we are unable to say, but the object probably was to get the charter into the king's hands with a view to appointing as aldermen and councillors those who had been favourable to the royalists. The Earl of Derby sent a list of persons whose names he wished inserted in the charter and James Hodgkinson, the mayor, retorted with a list of objections to them. Possibly at the instance of the Earl an information was laid against the mayor, charging him with having got a piece of gold which he boasted was part of the late king's crown, with opposing the Cheshire rising and with not punishing some person who had declared that the king's proclamation deserved to be burned. Other informations were laid against the bailiffs James Abbot and Richard Hodgkinson and against Alexander Rigby of Aspull, who was an attorney or solicitor. The charges seem flimsy enough and were probably formulated out of spite. Any way they cannot have had much influence on the king or his advisers for in the new charter James Hodgkinson was appointed mayor and James Abbot and Richard Hodgkinson bailiffs.[1]

Having described the broils and turmoils of the Civil War we propose to end the chapter on a quieter note and to conclude with a short reference to the parliamentary representation of the borough during this period.[2] We have seen that after an interval of nearly two hundred years Preston resumed its duties and sent two members to the parliament which sat from 1529 to 1536. Between the latter of these two dates and the year 1547, there were four parliaments but the returns for Lancashire are missing : from that time, however, to the present day we have a complete and continuous list of the borough members. Unfortunately down to the commencement of the Short

1. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1660–61, 454; 1661–62, 199–200; 1663–64, 410.

2. Pink and Beavan, *Lanc. Parly. Repn.*, 140–153.

Parliament in 1640, they are in many cases mere names to us and we are not infrequently compelled to guess at their identity, and to remain in ignorance as to how or why they became thus closely connected with the town. Some of them were members of those Lancashire families whose names become so familiar to us as we wander down the stream of our history, and as they are few in number and probably owed their selection to local influence and interest we propose to give a list of them. The first of them, Christopher Haydock, probably one of the family that held the manor of Cottam, near Preston,[1] shared the representation with James Walton, the mayor, in the parliament of 1529. Thomas Fleetwood[2] was M.P. for the borough in 1553, and a son of his in 1584. When Mary was on the throne Sir Richard Sherborne of Stonyhurst sat in two of the parliaments of the reign. In 1563 there was a Gilbert Moreton of Moreton Hall in Whalley. In 1572 one of the members was a purely local man, one of the Hodgkinsons of Preston, a family which was without doubt the most important and wealthy in the town for some centuries. Thomas Hesketh of Whitehill, near Lancaster, was returned in 1586 and in the next parliament he had as a colleague Michael Doughtee of Thornley-cum-Wheatley, whose grand-daughter married Thomas Patten, M.P. for Preston in 1689, while their daughter in turn married Sir Thomas Stanley of Bickerstaffe, the ancestor of the present Earl of Derby. The last of this short list was Henry Banaster of Bank Hall, in Bretherton, an out-burgess of Preston, who sat in the parliament of 1614. Of the others some were lawyers like George Frevill, who sat in the first parliament of Edward VI and was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer

1. For the Haydocks, see Fishwick, *History*, 88, 267–274.

2. He was brother of John Fleetwood of Penwortham, and his youngest son was the ancestor of the Fleetwoods of Rossall. Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law, belonged to the same family. Pink and Beavan, *Lanc. Parly. Repn.*, 142, 145.

in 1559; or Anthony Browne, a son-in-law of William ffarington of Worden and member for Preston in 1553, who was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1558; or Sir Robert Southwell, who was Master of the Rolls from 1541 to 1550 and M.P. for Preston in 1558. There are two amongst them who have obtained a more than local fame and whose names belong to the history of England as well as to that of Preston. The first of these is John Hales,[1] who represented the borough with Frevill from 1547 to 1552 and was appointed a commissioner to inquire into the evils wrought by the inclosing of arable lands and the turning of them into sheep pastures. The distress and discontent that were so prevalent during the reign of Edward VI must have made a deep impression upon him for he wrote a lengthy pamphlet on the matter, which was published after his death under the title of *A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints of Divers of our Countrymen in these our Dayes*, and was at one time erroneously attributed to Shakespeare. The other of them is the celebrated scholar Roger Ascham,[2] who wrote *The Schoolmaster* and was tutor to Queen Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey.

The members who sat in the Short and Long Parliaments have already been referred to. The part which Colonel Richard Shuttleworth took in the Civil War in Lancashire entitles him to a place in the history of that conflict close to those redoubtable parliamentarians Assheton and Rigby. The other member, Thomas Standish of Duxbury Hall, near Clitheroe, supported the parliament, though the majority of his family were royalists, but he died before December, 1642, and after a vacancy of three years his place was filled by William

1. *English Historical Review*, VI, 284–305, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXIV, 29–30.

2. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, II, 150–159.

Langton, steward of the Court Leet and one of the family that lived at Broughton Tower, near Preston.[1]

When the Long Parliament was forcibly dissolved in 1653 the council of officers of the army, with the advice of the Congregational ministers, nominated an assembly, which is generally referred to as Barebone's parliament. This curious body only existed for a few months and the names of those who were members of it have only been preserved in a few places, and so we are unable to say whether any Prestonian took part in its deliberations.[2]

On September 3rd of the following year a new parliament met which had been elected under the provisions of the *Instrument of Government,* which greatly reduced the amount of borough representation throughout the country and took one member away from Preston.[3] Shuttleworth was the sole representative of the borough in this parliament as well as in the next which lasted from September 17th, 1656, to the following February, and in company with Richard Standish, the son of his former colleague, he was returned to the parliament which was summoned during the protectorate of Richard Cromwell.

1. This place is close to Sharoe Green in Fulwood, and belonged to the Singletons of Broughton before it was bought by the Langtons. It is now a farmhouse, and like Chingle Hall in Whittingham, which also belonged to the Singletons, it was surrounded by a moat, which may still be traced though it is filled up in places.

2. Gardiner, *Constitutional documents of the Puritan Revolution,* Introd., liii.

3. *Ibid.,* 407–408.

CHAPTER VI.

To the End of the Seventeenth Century.

The historian of Preston is favoured by fortune when he reaches the latter half of the seventeenth century, for the material at his disposal is both rich and various, with the result that we know more of the town, of its appearance, of its public men and of the events that happened in it at that time, than at any preceding, or at any subsequent period, until local newspapers appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century.

In the first place we have reports of the proceedings of the town council, which commence in the year 1608 and are contained in the *White Book* of the corporation.[1] With these are to be classed the rolls of the Gilds, and the records of the Court Leet of the borough, the latter of which are in existence from the year 1653.[2]

These, however, are formal documents which merely present the official record of events in a formal way, and are as helpless as statistics or blue books to picture to us the general appearance of the town or to show us how its inhabitants really lived their daily lives. They are but the skeletons of history, which have to be clothed with flesh and blood, before we obtain a life-like presentment of Preston at this period. For our ability to perform this feat, we owe a debt of gratitude to four individuals who lived during different parts of the time in Preston and who must now be introduced to the reader. The first of them is Richard Kuerden, or Jackson,[3] who was born at Cuerden near Preston in 1623, was at school at Leyland

1. Extracts from the *White Book*, with notes by Mr. Hewitson, appeared in the *Preston Guardian*, in August, September and October, 1905.

2. *Preston Court Leet Records*, (1905) edit. by Hewitson.

3. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXIX, 104.

and subsequently went to St. Mary Hall, at Oxford, where he became a doctor of medicine. He subsequently settled at Preston, where, fortunately for us, he neglected the study of medicine for that of antiquities. In conjunction with Christopher Townley, of Carr Hall, he collected material for a history of Lancashire; but the work was never completed and the only part of it which has been printed is, '*A Brief Description of the Burrough and Town of Preston and Its Government and Guild,*' which was apparently written shortly after the Gild of 1682, and was published by a Mr. Taylor in 1818. As Kuerden was present both at the Gild of 1682 and the preceding one of 1662 and had access to the corporation records, while he took pains to give a description of the town as it was at the time, it will easily be seen that the book is valuable from many points of view.

The second of our benefactors is Thomas Bellingham, who was the son of a Dublin goldsmith and a member of the younger branch of the family which built Levens Hall, near Kendal. He was a captain in the army and was apparently stationed in Preston before he went to Ireland, where he took part in the campaign against James II, was present at the battle of the Boyne and was promoted to the rank of colonel. He had some connection with the town in another way, for an Agnes Bellingham, of the elder branch of his family, had married William Patten, son of Alderman Patten who was mayor of Preston in 1655—1656, and brother of Thomas Patten, who was M.P. for Preston in 1689.

The remaining two may be mentioned together. They are Lawrence Rawstorne, of New Hall, near Rawtenstall, and of Hutton, near Preston, a justice of the peace, a deputy lieutenant, a colonel of militia, and in 1682 high sheriff of Lancashire; and Edward Fleetwood, who was also a county justice and sat as M.P. for Preston in more than one parliament. They were undoubtedly distinguished persons in their day and were numbered amongst the rulers of the county.

Rawstorne was connected with Fleetwood by the tie of marriage, for he took the latter's sister for his third wife, and they are both of them linked to Bellingham by the bonds of friendship and by the fact that all three did us the kindness of keeping a diary.

Bellingham's diary covers the period from August 1st, 1688, to September 12th, 1690; Rawstorne's from September 1st, 1683, to October 6th, 1686;[1] and Fleetwood's from May 1st, 1687, to December 25th, 1689,[2] so that, with the exception of a period of about seven months, for over six years we have a continuous record of events of an interesting and even exciting period of our national history. It is true that the diarists only hear echoes of the great business that was happening in London, and that they tell us more of county life and the relationship of county families of the day than of municipal affairs; yet, as both Bellingham and Rawstorne resided in Preston, and Fleetwood lived just across the Ribble, and all three of them were well acquainted with the better class of the townsmen, they show us much of the daily life of the period, while it is surprising, also, how many of those events of James II's reign, which preceded and led up to his deposition, are recorded.

Our first duty is, of course, to describe the appearance of the town as Dr. Kuerden saw it, adding such details as we may have gathered from other sources. It has previously been stated that Preston is situated on part of a low cliff on the north side of the Ribble. This cliff was intersected by four little streams: the Swillbrook, which rising in Fishwick flowed in a south-westerly direction and separated Fishwick from Preston, until it reached the river where the Tram Bridge now crosses it: the Syke or

1. Extracts from Rawstorne's diary, with notes by Mr. Hewitson, were published in the *Preston Guardian* between January 2nd and March 6th, 1909.

2. Fleetwood's diary has never been published, either in whole or in part.

Avenham Syke, which, having its origin near Lark Hill, found its way to the Ribble at the point where Fishergate turns into Broadgate. Another Syke, known apparently as Suckling Syke or Furham Syke, commenced somewhere about the lowest part of Lune Street and went to the river in a course, which is almost represented by the line of the present Marsh Lane. And lastly, a brook, known at one part of its course as Deepdale Brook, at another as Moor Brook, and later as Swansea Gutter, which wended its way from Deepdale across the Moor until, at the boundary of Preston and Ashton, it also joined the Ribble. All these streams are now covered over, lost to sight and almost lost to memory but the records of the Court Leet show that they were formerly of importance as natural drains and boundaries of fields.

The town centred round the church, which as we have said, was in existence at the time of Domesday, and close to it were to be found the town hall and the market square, while three main streets led from the centre of the town. But here we may let Dr. Kuerden take up the tale:—'This Burrough,' he writes, 'is much adorned with its larg square or market place, as likewise with the streets thereof which are so spacious from one end thereof unto the other, that few of the corporations of England exceed the same, either for streets or market-place. In the midle of the Burrough is placed an ample antient and yet well beautifyed gylde or town hall or toll bothe, to which is annexed, at the end thereof, a counsell chamber for the capitall burgesses or jurors at their court days, to retire for consultation, or secretly to retire themselves from the comon burgesses or the publiq root[1] of people, as occasion shall require.'[2]

In describing the town hall under which were rows of butchers' shops he mentions that several courts were held there, the Court Leet and the court for the election of the mayor, the Borough Court of Common Pleas and the

1. *i.e.*, rout.
2. *Brief Description*, 4–5.

Palatine Chancery Court, the last of which was presided over by 'the worthy and most judicious Sir John Ottway.' In this building too were held the elections for members of parliament for the borough,[1] and sometimes, upon adjournment from Lancaster, the elections for knights of the shire, 'if the contest be not quickly reconciled amongst the gentry.' Lastly, when the Gild Merchant was held, the claims for admission or readmission were also received there.[2]

In the adjoining square, with its market cross, its butter cross and fishstones, were held the markets for most of the articles that were exposed for sale, except those for swine, cattle and horses which were held near the church, in Church Street and in Fishergate respectively.

The worthy doctor is resolved to be pleased with everything. The streets, which appear somewhat narrow to us nowadays, excite his admiration because of their spaciousness, and the houses which lined them on either side are 'stately fabricks of brickbuilding after the Modish maner.'

'The first street as you enter upon the south side from the bridge, is Fenkell-street, unto the barrs;[3] and from

1 In 1826 these contests were transferred to the newly erected Corn Exchange. Dobson, *The Story of our Town Hall*, 12.

2. This building fell down on June 3rd, 1780, and was replaced by another, which in turn made way for the present one which was erected in 1862—1867. Neither of the old town halls occupied the whole of the site of the existing one, but in 1855 the old Elizabethan fronted houses which stood on the north side of the hall, and at one time formed part of the endowment of the Chantry of the Holy Rood, were pulled down and the space thus obtained was included in the area of the present building. Dobson, op. cit., and Hewitson, *History*, 301, n. 2, and 356–368.

3. The Church Street bars were situate at the corner of the street, which was formerly called Cockerhole, subsequently Water Street, and has recently been rechristened Manchester Road—a name which is so meaningless that we have come to the conclusion that the town council must have been imitating Mr. Bumble's method of giving names to those unlucky orphans who came under his control.

PRESTON AT THE EN

OF THE 17th CENTURY.

the barrs proceeding to the town's hall, is styled the Church-street, all though the other part below the barrs hath been, and is, vulgarly taken for part thereof.'

'From the Church-street, in a straight line proceeding westward, the whole street is called the Fishergate-street.'

'And over against the church, proceeding northward to Salter-lane,[1] was esteemed to be Vicars or Vicarage-street or alley,[2] by reason that at the end thereof the antient vicarage stood before delapidation: and the Tyth Barne were adjacent.'

'From the end of Vicarage-street or lane, a specious (*sic*) street past westward, and this is called St. John's-street;[3] and from thence a back-lane passing beside the town, falling into the Fryergate below the Fryergate-barrs.'[4]

'And from the west end of St. John's-street and the little short street or alley passing southerly, into the lower end of the Market-place, and this is call the Fryers' Weend.'[5]

'And likewise from the midst of St. John's-street, passing by the horsemill southward, into another square with a draw well in the midst thereof; into which square the mayor and counsell did intend to translate their fish-stones or fish-market, out of the larger market-place.'[6]

1. Salter Lane is now called North Road.

2. The present Tithebarn Street.

3. This street was later called Lord Street: the westward half of it has disappeared in the alterations of recent years, the post office being built on the lower portion of it.

4. This is still known as Back Lane.

5. Later called Anchor Weind. This street no longer exists.

6. This square was originally known as Aram's Backside. Sir John Molyneux of Teversall, Nottinghamshire, married Lucy, daughter of Colonel Alexander Rigby of Middleton in Goosnargh, who conducted the siege of Lathom House. His second son Thomas Molyneux, M.P. for the borough from 1695—1698 and again returned in 1701, acquired the property and improved it, after which it was called Molyneux Square. The easterly boundary of it extends from Ward's End to the place where the Education Offices now stand at the corner of Lord Street. *Preston Court Leet Records*, 129, n. 1, and 130, n. 1.

'And from this lesser square (most of which belongs to that worthy person and purchaser of the town-end,[1] the antient estate formerly belonging to the family of Prestons, but now in the possession of Mr. Rigby, Paternoster-row, in London) is another alley lately adorned with new building passing into the Market-place, at the upper end of the corne market; and this alley or passage from the aforesaid lesser square hath been antiently called Gin Bow Entry.'[2]

'There is likewise below the Churchgate-barrs another publiq footway southward, leading towards the bridge over Rible[3] into London Road; and this passage at its entrance out of the town was called Cockerhole.'

'Another remarkable foot passage toward Rible Bridge is through the Church yard southward by the publiq schoole[4] and antient place called Chappel of Avenam,[5] over the Swibrook southward, by Westfeld to the aforesaid Bridge of Rible; and this passage is called the Stonygate, being the greatest foot tract to the Burrough of Preston.'

'Another passage southward about the midst of Church Street more privatly passing either towards the bridge or bote, and is at present styled the passage through Cockshutts backside.'[6]

1. Townend or Townsend Hall was situate outside the Friargate bars, but its exact position is unknown. It is referred to by Bellingham (*Diary*, 73) and Rawstorne (*Diary*, January 2nd, 1684, and May 28th, 1686) and has been erroneously placed by Mr. Hewitson at the east end of the town.

2. Gin Bow Entry and certain other passages from the market square were done away with when the property on the east side was pulled down prior to the erection of the Free Library.

3. The only bridge over the Ribble at this time was one leading to Walton-le-dale and was situate about ninety yards further down the stream than the present one.

4. The Grammar School.

5. No other reference can be found to this and there is no record of any chapel having existed there.

6. Now Turk's Head Court.

'Another foot passage southward is over against the Shambles [1] or Town hall, and leadeth by the Minspitt well, and over Avenam to Rible side, passing along the river to the boate or ferry of Penwortham; and this is called Minspitt-lane or Pettycoat-alley,[2] by reason of the frequent carrying of water from this well by woemen, and milk maids bringing dayly their milk and butter to the town this way, from beyond the river Rible.'

'At the west end of the Fishergate, there is one lane or foot path, likewise leading over Avenham, from the Almes house to the aforesaid boat at Penwortham, and this is called the Almes house-lane or Passage to the boat.' [3]

'From the Church-street or Town hall westward in a direct line continues another spacious street leading towards the river of Rible or Broadgate, as they call it; and this street as far as the buildings extend, is called the Fishergate-street, and the end thereof, at the ford over the Rible or the horse way to the boat, when the river is not fordable, is called Broadgate, from whence going southerly they pass over the river, there devided into 3 streams; [4] a very secure passage if the water be not too deep by fresh or flood: in such cases, when they come to the river side at the aforesaid Broadgate, then must follow up the river side eastward, about a quarter of a mile, untill they arrive at the key or wharf over against the boat house, where diverse boats are ready, as occasion may require, for horse or foot to waft them over to the other side, from thence to pass through Leyland-

1. The Old Shambles were situated to the east of the town hall and separated from it by a narrow street. In 1715 Thomas Molyneux built the New Shambles at the Church Street end of the present Lancaster Road. The east walls of the Miller Arcade and the Free Library are built on their site.

2. Now called Main Sprit Weind.

3. Afterwards Brewery Lane, now Mount Street.

4. The Ribble formerly encircled the Holme, as the flat piece of pasture land to the south east of Penwortham Hill is called.

Lane to Eccleston; and from thence to passe to Wigan by Standish, or by Maudsley to Ormschurch, and so to Liverpoole: or westward unto Croston; or when over the ford or boat, upon the right hand road, through Penwortham, Longton, Hoole, Ormschurch and so to Liverpoole.'

'Now from the lower end of Market-street or square, passing by the north west through a fayre long and spacious street cal'd the Fryergate-street, by reason upon that side of the town was formerly a larg and sumptuos building, formerly belonging to the Fryers Minors or Gray Fryers, but now only reserved for the reforming of vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and petty larcenary thieves, and other people wanting good behavior: it is now the country prison to entertain such persons with hard work, spare dyet, and whipping: and it is called the House of Correction. And at the upper end of this street, without the barrs, is a passage westward, either for horse or foot, by this Fryery or House of Correction, to the upper end of the Marsh, where there is a lower ford to passe over the water to the Church or Hall of Penwortham, though not altogether so safe as the aforesaid Upper Ford; and this passage betwixt the Burrough and the said Pryory (*sic*) is styled the Fryers'-wind.'[1]

Just after leaving the bars, Friargate lost its name, but its subsequent course is to be found in the road now called Fylde Road. Proceeding in a westerly direction it crossed the Moss, where from the sixteenth century onwards Prestonians practised archery at the butts, and where in later days they erected the church of St. Peter. On the left at this point, and possibly occupying the site of the Roman Catholic church of St. Walburge, was to be found from the reign of Henry II to that of Henry VIII the hospital or leper house dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, which gave its name to that part of the town so that to this day we speak of the Maudlands and of

1. This must have followed the line of the present Marsh Lane.

Maudland Ward. Further along on the right there branched off the highway to the north, the Old Lancaster Lane, which, though deposed from its high estate as the chief thoroughfare, may still be used. Finally the road crossed the Ashton boundary of the town and after passing close to the site of the monastery of the order of Savigny, (which existed at Tulketh until it was removed to Furness), proceeded on its way to Kirkham and Poulton.

No walls surrounded the houses or interfered with the access to its common fields. As to the precise number and locality of these latter there is no reliable evidence. The names that appear in old deeds and chartularies are unknown to us, while of maps there is a singular scarcity. The earliest, 'P.M.'s Rebellion Map,' had no other object than to illustrate the siege of 1715 and the disposition of the forces, and only shows in a perfunctory manner certain fields close to the river. The other maps are of no assistance to us from this point of view, as they have no trace of open fields, the land being divided into numerous plots with well defined boundaries and separate names.[1] Judging by the frequency of the use of the word 'meadow' along the river side, we may conjecture that the meadow land extended from the Swillbrook to the lower end of Fishergate Hill and possibly northward to the Marsh—as the low lying ground close to the Ribble and the Ashton boundary was called.

The Moor encircled the town from the Ashton boundary on the west to the Fishwick boundary on the east, and was separated by Eaves Brook from the king's forest of Fulwood. In the forest the swine obtained pannage, and on the Moor and the Marsh the cattle of the burgesses were pastured.

Let us picture to ourselves gardens and small tofts, crofts and orchards, adjoining the houses of the towns-

1. For a complete list of the maps of Preston, see Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 214.

folk, such as may be found in any large village or small country town at the present time, unformed streets with channels in the centre running with filth, and we have completed the description of the town as it probably appeared during the Middle Ages and continued to exist, until the Industrial Revolution at the end of the 18th century turned it into the aggregation of unsightly factories and mean streets, that go to make up a Lancashire cotton town.

Now that we know our way about the town, we will call for Captain Bellingham at his lodgings in Friargate, at the house of Evan Hewson, one of the bailiffs,[1] or for Colonel Rawstorne, at the town house which he rented from Mrs. Bushell, the widow of the Revd. Seth Bushell, who was vicar of Preston from 1663 to 1682.[2] If they both happen to be out, we shall probably meet Mr. Fleetwood, for he comes over the ferry from Penwortham nearly every day. Whoever may be our companion, we will stroll into the town hall with him, where we shall have bad luck if we do not happen to find some court in session. The Assizes for the county were held at Lancaster, but the Quarter Sessions, though opened at the county town, were always adjourned to Preston, which would seem to have been the centre of the administrative work done by the justices.[3] On the bench at the

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 119.

2. *Rawstorne Diary*, May 9th, 1685.

3. The adjournments were to Preston, Wigan, Kirkdale or Ormskirk, Manchester or Salford. On one occasion in the eighteenth century, when there was an epidemic at Preston, they were adjourned to the house of a Mrs. Dean at Chorley. The Act of 1798 (38 Geo. III, c. 58) which established an Annual General Sessions at Preston as the place at which certain business had to be dealt with, probably crystallized an earlier practice, as there always seems to have been an implication that general committees were to be held at Preston, and the bulk of the records would appear to have been kept there. If we could ascertain the names of the successive deputy clerks of the peace and the situations of their offices, we should probably be able to settle the question beyond dispute. Webb, *English Local Government*, I, 431–433.

Quarterly meeting we shall find a Stanley or a Molyneux, with a number of other justices, members of families but little less distinguished than those we have mentioned. Rawstorne and Fleetwood know them well. This one coming towards us is William Assheton of Cuerdale, just across the river, a member of a family that was to be found at Downham, near Clitheroe, and Middleton Hall, near Oldham: that is a Parker, but Bellingham is not quite sure whether he is one of the Parkers of Bradkirk Hall, near Kirkham, or of those of Browsholme Hall, near Waddington, or of the family that lives at Lovely Hall in Salesbury. It is long odds we meet Sir Charles Hoghton, who has ridden in from the Tower, as well as his brother Benjamin from Walton Hall in Walton-le-Dale; while, in all probability, the owners of some of those farmhouses which are to be found nowadays close to the Ribble, and whose names testify to their former high estate, will also be there. There will be a Talbot from Salesbury Hall and a Warren from Dinckley Hall, near Ribchester, and, if the family had not remained Catholic, we should doubtless have made the acquaintance of a Walmsley from Lower Hall in Samlesbury. From Chorley and its neighbourhood may come Sir Peter Brook of Astley Hall, Sir Edward Chisenhall of Chisenhall Hall and Sir Richard Standish of Duxbury Hall, while from Portfield and Read Hall, near Whalley, there will very likely be a Braddyll and a Nowell. Not all of these will be present at one Session, but the places of the absentees will probably be filled by Henry ffarington of Worden in Leyland, Ralph Livesey of Livesey Hall, near Blackburn, Captain Longworth of Larbrick, or one of the Banasters of Bank Hall, near Bretherton. As they come into court they are accompanied by an oldish man, who greets Bellingham with a friendly smile when he notices his presence and promptly sends him a note requesting his company in the evening at the tavern which they both know as Coopers'.[1] Bellingham bows

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 33.

his acceptance of the invitation and in a rapid whisper informs us that his host to be is the Earl of Derby's right hand man, Roger Kenyon, of Peel, near Lytham, clerk of the peace for the county, sometime governor of the Isle of Man for the Earl and likely to be nominated as M.P. for the borough of Clitheroe when the next elections are held.[1]

If, after we have been introduced, we stare rather hard at these solid, worthy gentlemen in wigs and full skirted coats, with stockings and knee breeches, we hope to be forgiven for a pardonable rudeness, for we are looking at people who have almost a hereditary right to govern the county.

We have recently had explained to us[2] the wonderful system whereby a few squires and country gentlemen meeting together in public house parlours, with but little clerical or legal assistance, transacted the whole of the business which is now dealt with by Quarter Sessions and County Councils, assembled in palatial buildings with a large and highly trained staff. It is a tribute to the genius of the English for self-government that on the whole this work was not badly done. Their knowledge of the law was slender, their education was deficient, their outlook was narrow and their numbers were small; yet, in addition to their judicial duties, they controlled the poor law system, fixed the rate of wages, supervised the bridges and highways, were the rating and licensing authorities and, as individuals, were the ruling providences of the townships or parishes in which they lived.

1. The clerkship of the peace of the County of Lancaster seems to have passed by descent in the 17th century. It was held by Alexander Rigby, and by his son George Rigby, whose daughter and heiress Roger Kenyon married. As Kenyon became clerk of the peace about the time of the Restoration, he was probably about 60 years old in 1688. He sat as M.P. for Clitheroe from 1690 to 1695. *Kenyon MSS.*, Introd., et passim : Pink and Beavan, *Lancashire Parliamentary Representation*, 257.

2. Webb, *English Local Government*, I, (Parish and County).

We may stay and listen to the judicial business, if we care to, but if we wish to improve our acquaintance with the justices, our best plan is to slip an arm through that of Captain Bellingham and go with him to the Anchor or some other inn, where after they have fortified themselves with a good dinner, the justices will stay to deal with the accounts and the other administrative business of the county.

One item that came before them in 1689 and 1690 calls for particular mention. It has already been stated that the old Preston Friary after being used for a time as a private residence had eventually become a House of Correction. As such it was, of course, subject to the authority of the county justices. In 1689 the governor, a certain William Tomlinson was deprived of his position on the ground that he was 'a very disloyal and disaffected person to the Government and a great favourer of Papists' and William Higginson was appointed in his stead. Tomlinson was successful in obtaining the holding of an inquiry into the charges against him, as a result of which he was adjudged innocent and the justices who had the matter in hand reported on September 17th, 1690, that when they went to take possession of the place the persons inside kept the doors shut and refused them admission. 'And,' they added, 'as wee have since heard, they had then within the said house an armed rable to keep the house, and whilst wee were but a little way gone from the place, wee heard a gun or guns go off in or about the said house.' What the result was and how the justices carried out their order and what happened to the daring Higginson we unfortunately have no knowledge.[1]

If the Quarter Sessions are not on, there is very probably a Special Sessions of two or more justices. Colonel Rawstorne mentions two occasions on which he joined with Henry ffarington (or as he terms him in an intimate

1. *Kenyon MSS.*, 224, 245, 247.

fashion, 'coz' ffarington), for special business, once to deal with a case of forceable entry and once on excise matters.[1] Again, he goes to Kirkham to meet Colonel Rigby of Middleton in Goosnargh, and one of the Parkers, in order to license alehouses and appoint the Overseers of the Poor; and when we read that they 'sat and dyned at widow Barrow's,' we know without being told, that the good lady kept an inn.[2]

If neither of these courts are sitting we may chance upon a session of a much older court, no less a court in fact than the portmoot. This ancient court had been ousted from its position as the governing body by the town council, which had probably been evolved from it, but it continued to hold its meetings three times a year. One of these was known as the Mayor's Court or the Great Court of Election, and was held in the afternoon of the Friday before the feast of St. Wilfrid (12th October) when the mayor, the town's bailiff and the town's sergeant were chosen for the ensuing twelve months by a jury of twenty-four nominated by two 'eleisors.'[3] As belonging to the 'gentry' we may possibly have been honoured with an invitation to attend the Privy Accounts dinner,[4] which had been held on the previous Monday at the house of one of the sergeants, after the bailiffs, who acted as treasurers for the borough, had presented their accounts for the current year; and if we care to visit the court, there is not the slightest doubt but that Mr. Mayor will make us welcome and that we shall subsequently be asked by the mayor elect to take part in the 'sumptuous Banquet or noble Treaty' which he has provided. Having accepted this hospitality, the least we can do in return is to go with the mayor to church on St. Wilfrid's day, to see him stand at the door after the service and

1. *Rawstorne Diary*, February 2nd and March 4th, 1684.
2. *Ibid.*, April 16th, 1684.
3. *Brief Description*, 24.
4. *Ibid.*, 25.

deliver his staff of office to his successor, and to listen to the rhyming speech which he makes at the same time.[1]

At its other two meetings, which were always held within a month after Easter and a month after Michaelmas, the court was known as the Great Court Leet.[2] It was similar in nature to other courts that were to be found in different parts of the country, like the Court of Sembly Quest or Assembly Inquest, which met on the Wicker Green at Sheffield, the Mickletorn Leet which was held at Nottingham, and the Courts Leet of Manchester and Salford. They have no exact modern equivalent, the nearest approach to them being found in the police courts or the petty sessions of the present day. But they differed widely from these, not only in their procedure, but in the fact that, in addition to punishing petty malefactors, they exercised a paternal watchfulness over the borough, reproving and exhorting all and sundry in a manner which is as interesting as it is, at times, humorous.

This court was generally held before the mayor, the bailiffs and the steward (who was also the town clerk), but for a short period the recorder of the borough sat in it,[3] and occasionally it was presided over by the steward

1. *Brief Description*, 43; *Bellingham Diary*, 21; *Rawstorne Diary*, October 12th, 1684; and *Fleetwood Diary*, October 12th, 1687.

2. For this court, see the Introduction to Hewitson's *Preston Court Leet Records*. Some of the statements contained therein as to the origin and nature of Courts Leet in general require to be modified and corrected by comparisons with Hearnshaw's *Court Leet Jurisdiction*.

There was another court, known as the Inquest or Inquisition of Office, the proceedings of which are also contained in the records. Except in its title and in its times of meeting, it cannot be distinguished from the Court Leet, but would appear to have been a sort of intermediate session of that court, held either because some offence required to be dealt with without delay or to relieve the next court of some of the business. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, Introd., viii and note.

3. The recorder makes his appearance at the first court held after the granting of the second charter of Charles II, which created the office, and takes the place of the steward.

alone.[1] The leet jury—an indeterminate number—was sworn, and proceeded to bring in presentments. Representing, as they did, an older system than the modern jury the jurors did not listen to evidence, and then give a verdict. They represented the neighbourhood, and themselves accused and convicted. Evil-doers were not tried; they were found guilty. If they were not sent to the pillory, the cuckstool, the tumbrel or the rogues' post or sentenced to be confined in prison—which was in the town hall until the lockup in Turk's Head Court was built—their punishment was left to the mayor, or they were fined the sums fixed by statutes or assizes, or lastly their amercement was assessed by the affeerors. But the presentments comprised more than verdicts in cases of misdemeanour. They frequently contained complaints as to nuisances, as to the dereliction of duty of officials, as to the lack of repair of the 'causeys' and other grievances which are nowadays generally made known by 'an indignant ratepayer' in the correspondence columns of the local press.

In endeavouring to convey some idea of the variety of matters with which the court dealt, it may be stated, at the outset, that nothing was too large or too small to escape the watchfulness of the jury. The mayor,[2] and the bailiffs[3] were as liable to their criticism as 'easing droppers,'[4] or those who 'tussled,'[5] or were guilty of 'fighting and ffliteing'[6] with their neighbours. Still, if they were more careful of one thing than of another, it was, that the privileges of themselves and of their fellow

1. Colonel Rawstorne was present at the court held on October 20th, 1685, before William Lemon, Junior, the mayor, and John Warren, the recorder. *Diary*, under that date, and Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 139.

2. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 135.

3. *Ibid.*, 120, 139.

4. *Ibid.*, 129.

5. *Ibid.*, 80.

6. *Ibid.*, 117.

freemen should not be diminished, or their burdens increased by the influx of 'foreigners,' or 'inmates.'

Next to the right to carry on a trade, which was the most valuable possession of a freeman, the right that was most highly esteemed was that of pasturing cattle on the Marsh and the Moor. By orders made and repeated at different celebrations of the Gild Merchant, 'stallengers' were excluded from participating in this privilege, while the large number of presentments with reference to the breach of these orders, to the overburdening of the pastures, to the damage done to them by geese,[1] to the negligence of the pinders, who sometimes failed to impound the beasts of those who had not this right,[2] all tend to show how carefully the freemen guarded against invasions of this privilege. One man is presented for turning to the Marsh a heifer which hath not had a calf.[3] Complaint is repeatedly made against a miller, who has a water mill close by that he allows the water to escape from the dam and spoil the pasture.[4] The jury recommend that the cattle be not turned to the Marsh before a certain time in the morning, but be collected by the herdsman at Spittle Moss—a piece of land which was so called because it was near to, or formerly belonged to, the dissolved Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen—and taken there by him.[5] Similarly, the neglect of the bailiffs to provide a town bull for the good of the commonalty is noted,[6] and after it is provided certain persons who 'abused and foyled the beast by sleating doggs upon him,' are fined.[7] We should be in error however, if we supposed that the Prestonians of those days, in thus fining those who tortured the town bull, were actuated by

1. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 142.
2. *Ibid.*, 28.
3. *Ibid.*, 125.
4. *Ibid.*, 3, 61.
5. *Ibid.*, 25.
6. *Ibid.*, 60.
7. *Ibid.*, 80.

any higher motive than a desire to restrain the doing of damage to their property, for we know that bull baiting was a recognised sport in the borough at the time.

There are also to be found here those minute regulations with reference to the sale and manufacture of goods, in which the policy of our law at one time delighted. The Assize of Bread and Ale is enforced, although, judging from the number of presentments relating to it, with some considerable difficulty, while 'forestalling and regrating,' *i.e.*, buying articles and selling them at an increased price, and 'engrossing' *i.e.*, creating a corner in goods,[1] carrying out corn and not inquiring for the 'towler,'[2] making up shoes with horse leather,[3] exposing for sale leather insufficiently tanned,[4] selling bricks out of town,[5] and making them otherwise than according to the recognised measurements (which were 10 inches in length, 5 inches in breadth, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness[6]), all call for reprobation of the jury and the punishment of the offenders.

There are numerous other presentments, which, though they have no connection with one another, serve to throw some light upon the life of the period. From one presentment we learn that members of the town council wore gowns, 'an ancient custom' which is now neglected.[7] Many of them show that our forefathers were somewhat strict observers of the Sabbath, for it appears to have been a most heinous offence to carry water, and even to 'take' tobacco publicly in the streets on that day, though it is only right to point out that the person who was charged with the latter crime was also accused of being

1. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 85, 96.
2. *Ibid.*, 60.
3. *Ibid.*, 139.
4. *Ibid.*, 18.
5. *Ibid.*, 13.
6. *Ibid.*, 139.
7. *Ibid.*, 62.

'staggering drunk.'[1] A widow—probably the losing party in an action in the Borough Court of Pleas—is fined for using 'scandalous and Rayling words agt Mr. John Cottam and Robte Loxam, who were swore jurors in ye townes Cort of Tryalls, terming them as base in theire verdict, as if they had picked her pocket.'[2] A member of the important local family of the Banisters is presented for not erecting a 'burgage' which he had suffered to go to ruin.[3] A large number of people, including the steward of the Court, are charged with encroaching on the streets by erecting rails and posts, and are directed to remove them or pay rent for the same. Others are taught, by means of fines, that they must not break hedges,[4] or 'annoy' the streets by leaving rubbish or timber in them,[5] or by flaying horses there.[6] In short, there was scarcely any matter affecting the orderly conduct of the town, except the graver crimes, with which the jury were not prepared to deal.

But even at this period the court would appear to have lost much of its freshness and vigour and to have been undergoing the process of decay. The causes of its decline were threefold. First of these, we may place the irksomeness of having to attend court and take part in its proceedings, which in legal terminology was called the duty of performing 'suit of court.' The frequency with which fines were imposed on large numbers of persons for 'withdrawing' this, testifies to the fact that the burden was widely borne, and was found to be a hardship.

In the second place, we may put the unsatisfactory nature of the procedure, to which reference has already been made. There was no sifting of evidence, no hearing of the culprit. People from the vicinity, relying

1. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 153.
2. *Ibid.*, 108.
3. *Ibid.*, 48.
4. *Ibid.*, 87.
5. *Ibid.*, 182.
6. *Ibid.*, 138

upon hearsay and tittle-tattle, possibly influenced by ill-will towards a neighbour, declared that an offence had been committed. The presentment could not be controverted: it accused and punished at the same time. It is scarcely surprising that this rough and ready system, which belonged to the thirteenth century, should be found to be unsatisfactory five hundred years later.

This accounted for the preference which was shown for a rival court, the petty sessions of the justices, who received jurisdiction over all new offences which were created by the legislature, and thus formed the third factor in the overthrow of the Court Leet. However ridiculous Mr. Justice Shallow and other justices of the peace and of *quorum* might make themselves at times, their court must have been eagerly accepted as an agreeable alternative to the archaic injustice perpetrated by the leet jury. While the powers of the justices were thus being steadily extended, those of the Court Leet were being gradually abridged. The Assize of Bread and Ale was abolished and the statutes forbidding forestalling, etc., were repealed, these regulations having become repugnant to the spirit of the age. New views as to apprenticeship and as to trading privileges were in the air, and where the old customs were not actually swept away they were ignored. When firearms superseded bows and arrows it became unnecessary for the court to see that there were butts in every tithing, and that those butts were in repair. And so, by degrees, time, parliament, and the judges filched away the matters over which the Court Leet had cognizance until its authority and influence dwindled away, and it became a shadow of its former self.

Falling thus upon evil days, the court would seem to have died of inanition rather than to have met a violent death, and when the Sheriffs' Act of 1887 was passed, and the sheriff's 'turn'—the very foundation of the court's authority—was abolished,[1] the section did not

1. 50 and 51 Vict., c. 55, sec .18, subs. 4.

make a change, but simply recorded an existing fact.[1]

The other two courts need not detain us long. The Chancery Court for the county palatine dated from the year 1376. It was presided over by the vice-chancellor and sat four times a year, once at each half yearly Assize at Lancaster and once during the interval between them at Preston.[2] Its jurisdiction was in equity and extended to all cases in which either the defendant or the subject matter of the proceedings was within the county. Nowadays the sittings are held in Manchester and Liverpool and only a registry remains in Preston. The Borough Court of Common Pleas,—or as we have seen it termed in the Court Leet records, the Town's Court of Trials,—was established by the charter of Elizabeth granted in 1566, and was to be held every third Friday before the mayor, bailiffs, and seneschal (*i.e.*, steward or town clerk). This was confirmed by the first charter of Charles II (1663), but the second charter (1685) appointed a recorder for the borough and the court was afterwards held before him alone. The court still sits, though not so frequently as formerly, for the newer County Court has detached many of its suitors.[3]

1. The Preston court seems to have come to an end in 1835. Whittle, *History*, II, 153.

2. Baines, *History of Lancashire*, (edit. by Croston) I, 90. This Court must be distinguished from the Court of the Duchy Chamber at Westminster which apparently had concurrent jurisdiction with the Palatine Court in matters relating to lands holden of the crown in right of the Duchy of Lancaster and possibly acted as a Court of Appeal from it. At this time the practice of transmitting causes to it from the Palatine Court caused considerable dissatisfaction in the county. (*Kenyon MSS.*, 425.) It no longer sits, though it has not been expressly abolished. There was also formerly a Palatine Court of Common Pleas which was held at Lancaster every Assize before one of the two judges who were appointed for the northern circuit. Its jurisdiction was transferred to the High Court of Judicature by the Judicature Act, 1873.

3. Its jurisdiction extends to all civil cases but is limited by the proviso that the defendant must live in the borough. It has two

In the election of the borough members,—another matter which took place in the town hall,—Bellingham upon one occasion must have taken a deep interest, for at the contest which took place on January 15th, 1689, for the Convention parliament, he 'personated' the Hon. James Stanley, who was absent, and was carried on men's shoulders 'from barrs to barrs and handsomely treated till very late.'[1] Rawstorne had previously had a similar experience at the election of April, 1685, when he represented Sir Thomas Chicheley, who was returned together with our friend the third diarist, Edward Fleetwood.[2]

The other elections and the members who were returned at them from 1660 to 1700 may be treated briefly, as they do not offer many points of interest.

At the election which took place in 1660 the corporation claimed the exclusive right to vote, and the Committee for Privileges and Elections having reported to the House of Commons that 'the taking of the poll was denied by the Mayor,' the House declared the election void. At the election which followed, there were returned Edward Fleetwood of Penwortham, and Edward Rigby, (a younger son of Colonel Alexander Rigby of Middleton in Goosnargh, the besieger of Lathom House), a barrister-at-law and steward of the Preston Court Leet, who held the seat during that and the three succeeding parliaments.

1. The close conjunction of the words 'barrs' and 'treated' perhaps makes it necessary to say that the 'barrs' referred to by the diarist were the toll bars.

2. *Rawstorne Diary*, April 8th, 1685.

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advantages over the County Court, viz., that actions for slander, breach of promise of marriage, &c., may be brought there, (while they may only be brought in the County Court by consent), and that there is no limit to the amount that may be recovered. Its procedure is governed by the Common Law Procedure Acts. For its history, see Addison v. Preston Corporation, (1852) 12 C. B., 108, and as to appeals from it, Darlow v. Shuttleworth, L. R., (1902) 1 K. B., 721. The present recorder is Mr. Frank Mellor, K.C.

After the next election, which occurred in 1661, there was another petition. The candidates were Edward Rigby, Geoffrey Rishton of Antley Hall, near Accrington, who settled at Preston and practised as a physician, and another medical man in the person of Dr. William Fyfe of Hackensall Hall, near Preesall, who was apparently put forward by the corporation against Rishton in order to support their old contention that the right of election lay with them and not with the in-burgesses. The report of the Committee for Privileges and Elections, which was adopted by the House of Commons, had such a far-reaching result in later days[1] that we set it out in full. It is as follows:—'That upon the petition of Dr. Fyfe against Dr. Rishton, they had proceeded to examine the matter touching their Elections for the Borough of Preston, and the question being, whether the Mayor and Twenty-four Burgeses had only Voices; or the Inhabitants at large; the Committee was of opinion, That all the Inhabitants had voices in the Election; and that the Majority of such voices was with Dr. Rishton; and that the said Dr. Rishton was duly elected a Burgess for the said Borough, and ought to sit in this House.'[2]

There was another disputed election return in 1690, when the candidates were Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Chancellor of the Duchy, another Edward Rigby, probably a grandson of the one mentioned above and two intimate friends of Captain Bellingham, namely, Christopher Greenfield, a Preston lawyer,[3] who was knighted in 1693, and Thomas Patten, of Thornley Hall and Preston, a barrister, who had been member for Preston in the last parliament. The election took place on the

1. See post, 201–206.

2. An article by Abram in the *Preston Guardian* of November 30th, 1878.

3. Greenfield seems to have lived in Friargate. He was presented more than once by the Court Leet jury for stopping up a footpath which led from the street to Hesketh Croft. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 131.

13th and 14th of March and was a very heated affair. All the candidates except Greenfield, were Whigs, and early on the first day Rigby withdrew in favour of Lord Willoughby. Patten's supporters got out of hand, assaulted the mayor and locked him up in the town hall.[1] In the end Greenfield and Willoughby were declared elected, the latter polling three more votes than Patten. A petition followed from Patten, alleging that the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses had by 'underpractices' procured many votes for Willoughby and had polled several persons who were unqualified, but the House of Commons confirmed Willoughby's return.

Amongst the other members of parliament who sat for Preston during this period may be mentioned, Sir John Otway, Vice-Chancellor of the Palatine Chancery Court, Sir Edward Chisenhall, a Tory, and Thomas Molyneux of Preston, who married a daughter of Colonel Alexander Rigby, was a Turkey merchant and built Molyneux Square and the New Shambles.[2]

We have mentioned the diarists' acquaintances amongst the county justices, and we may now turn to their friends amongst the leading townspeople. The list is not long. It consists of Thomas Patten, Alderman Roger Sudell, Alderman Thomas Hodgkinson, Alderman Winckley, Alderman William Lemon, Councillor Richard Langton, Daniel Chaddock, Christopher Greenfield, Robert Piggott and Dr. Lee.

If Rawstorne and Fleetwood are representatives of the ruling families of the county, the first six of these are typical of those of the town. During the seventeenth century on thirty-three occasions out of the hundred the mayor is chosen from one of these families. The explanation is, of course, that the corporation was a close body. The burgesses had lost the power of electing their

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 107, 108.

2. Dobson, *History of the Parliamentary Representation of Preston;* articles by Abram in the *Preston Guardian* between 1878 and 1881; and Pink and Beavan, *Lancashire Parliamentary Representation.*

representatives. Vacancies in the council were filled by co-option and the mayoralty was passed from one to another in rotation. The mere fact, that in 1673 and the three succeeding years George Addison, James Ashton, John Kellett, and William Lemon were respectively mayors of the borough, and that in 1682 and the three following years the same names appear in the same order, is more eloquent than pages of comment.

We have already referred to Greenfield and Patten, and have only to add now with regard to the latter that his daughter and heiress, 'Mistress' Elizabeth Patten, was married to Sir Thomas Stanley on August 16th, 1688, and took Patten House in Church Street and other property in Preston and Thornley into the Derby family.

Alderman Sudell was the Gild mayor in 1682 and is probably the same Roger Sudell, who founded the Preston Blue Coat School and died in 1704.

Alderman Hodgkinson was the bearer of a well known Preston name and a person of weight in the town, as is shown by the fact that he was twice mayor. He had a family of seven children and when one of them was born in March, 1683, he wrote to Kenyon that his wife has been delivered of 'another young tory.'[1] He seems to have been very hospitable, and Bellingham frequently dined at his house.

Alderman Winckley, whose family name remains in that of one of the squares of the town, was registrar of the Chancery Court and had a house at Brockholes in Ribbleton. He was a connection of Alderman Lemon, having married a half-sister of his.

Alderman Lemon was five times mayor and only resigned his office in the corporation in 1723 when he was 77 years of age. He was the last of his line and left his property to the Winckleys so that just as the inheritance of the Pattens went to the Stanleys, the property of

1. *Kenyon MSS.*, 158 : Fishwick, *History*, 250.

the Lemons and the Winckleys passed by the marriage of the heiress of the Winckleys to Sir John Shelley.

Councillor Richard Langton was the son of a former steward and M.P. for the borough and later became an alderman and mayor. He married the niece of Alderman Hodgkinson. Bellingham probably called him 'Dick' as he invariably refers to him as 'D. Langton.'

We know nothing of Daniel Chaddock beyond the mere fact that he lived in Preston, and was one of Bellingham's boon companions, but Robert Piggott was a person of some importance. In 1684–85 he was the mayor's bailiff, a position which conferred a sort of right of entry to the select ranks of the aldermen and councillors. He acted as under-sheriff at one period, and one of the Asshetons of Cuerdale, married his sister.

Dr. Lee may or may not have been Dr. Charles Leigh, who wrote a history of Lancashire. We know that he was the medical attendant of Captain Bellingham, and accompanied him on those visits to taverns, which possibly made his services necessary. If he was in Preston in 1681 he would have to deal with a somewhat serious epidemic of smallpox which broke out amongst the children in that year.[1]

These were the most intimate acquaintances of the diarists and they, or some of them, frequently spent the evening together either at the Anchor, the Mitre, Widow Clifton's, Widow Hugell's or some other of the numerous taverns and inns of the town. Nothing equals the regularity with which the three attended to their religious duties in the morning, except the uniformity with which they went to the public house at night. Rawstorne mentions the name of twenty-one houses of refreshment in Preston to say nothing of the Coffee House in Main Sprit Weind and the Boathouse Inn, at the ferry in Penwortham.

When one of them was about to leave the town on a

1. *Kenyon MSS.*, 128.

journey, he either met his friends the night before and 'paid his way' or he left a 'token' whereby they might remember him and seek consolation for his absence in their 'cans.'

The frequent mention of 'cans' of liquor, and an entry in Colonel Rawstorne's diary stating that he went to Penwortham, where 'they dyned the officers and the Canapolitans, Mr. Mayor &c.,' has led Mr. Hewitson to suggest that the Colonel had christened Preston 'the city of cans.'[1] In fact the references to eating and drinking in the Bellingham diary make up a large part of the contents. We hear of ortolans (a species of bunting), carp (a fish that has lost its repute), oysters (which came from London), chard (a variety of white beet), venison pasty, anchovies and sack. On one occasion the diarist definitely states that they 'drank hard,' while we may draw our own conclusions, when we learn that they finished up a christening party by singing at the Cross in the market place. We are consequently not surprised to learn that the gallant Captain suffered from the gout, that on different occasions he takes a 'vomit of carduus'[2] and a 'decoction and an electuary,'[3] and that at another time he is put upon what he calls a 'steel course.' He was however, never reduced to the necessity of going away for a change of air or diet, though it appears that, had he desired to do so, Harrogate or 'the Spaw' as it was called, had even then some of the reputation which it still deserves.[4]

But before we condemn these drinking habits too severely it is necessary to remember three things. First of all, that tea and coffee only came into use at the Restoration and were expensive luxuries. When Captain Bellingham is treated to them he thinks it sufficiently

1. *Rawstorne Diary*, January 1st, 1686.
2. Carduus benedictus, or blessed thistle, used to cause vomiting.
3. An electuary was a confection made of powders.
4. *Fleetwood Diary*, August 6th, 1688.

noteworthy to make an entry of the fact in his diary. Secondly, that social and political clubs were in their infancy and did not exist out of London. The inn and the tavern were therefore the only places where the townspeople could meet. And thirdly, that indulgence (even over indulgence) in alcoholic liquors was more leniently viewed in the years about which we are writing than nowadays; while it is impossible to doubt that many of the places which the City Fathers visited were more in the nature of inns or refreshment houses than drinking shops or bars.

One of these places deserves more than a passing mention. It is referred to as 'mounseer's' and was clearly a place of repute, for the county justices, the mayor and others frequently dined there. From one entry it appears that 'mounseer's' name was Brian.[2] It is tempting to believe that this was some French Protestant, called M. Briand, (like the late French Premier) who had fled from his native country in 1685, when Louis XIV repealed the Edict of Nantes, and arriving in Preston had applied himself to that art in which his compatriots have so often excelled. It is tempting to believe it: but it is necessary to add that there is not a scrap of evidence to prove it.

Colonel Rawstorne was a busy man. As has been stated, not only was he a county justice, but a colonel of militia and a deputy lieutenant, when to hold the latter office was no mere empty honour, but involved attendance on the lord lieutenant, who was the real military head of the county. Captain Bellingham on the other hand had time to spare, and he was ready for anything that promised excitement. Bull baiting, cock fighting, setting, coursing, duck shooting, and bowls were his chief outdoor recreations, and grand tric-trac, tables (games like backgammon), theatre going and gaming his indoor amusements.

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 103.
2 *Ibid.*, 42.

The bull was generally baited in the market square and fastened to a ring, the bolt of which is still visible. On one occasion either the rope or the ring-bolt gave way, and the bull got loose, to the general consternation. Nobody seems to have suffered, however, though the animal fell down Mr. Langton's cellar steps, broke open the door at the foot and just missed killing two children and the barman of the Anchor.[1] On another occasion, the 29th of January, 1684, the frost was so severe that the Ribble was frozen over and the bull was baited there.[2]

For his game of bowls the Captain went to a green on or near the Marsh or to an inn in Fishergate, known as Swansey's, but whether the theatre, at which he saw the plays of *Duke or no Duke* and *The Devil and the Pope,* was that which once upon a time existed in Woodcock's Court, off Fishergate, or an earlier one, we are unable to say. If not occupied in any of these ways or walking with his wife 'Nabby' (Abigail) in Avenham Garden,[3] he would ride the boundaries of the town with the mayor and the corporation in July or August or attend them when they proclaimed the fairs, possibly with an eye to the subsequent hospitality of the bailiffs.

When the Assizes came round and the judges were in town on their way to or from Lancaster, the diarists and the great ones of the town would visit them. In this way they met Lord Chief Justice Wright,[4] who presided at the famous trial of the Seven Bishops, and Lord Chief

1. *Bellingham Diary,* 17.

2. *Rawstorne Diary,* January 29th, 1684. Bull-baiting was condemned by the corporation on November 11th, 1726, when it was ordered that no bull should be bought or baited at their charge and that any expenditure for that purpose should be disallowed in the bailiffs' accounts. The 'sport' was made illegal in 1835.

3. Avenham Garden was between the present Bairstow Street and Avenham Road. Avenham Walk was purchased by the corporation from Alderman Lemon in 1697, just before the end of this period.

4. *Bellingham Diary,* 11.

Justice Jeffreys before he had gone his 'bloody Assize.'[1] In August, 1684, the corporation surrendered to Jeffreys the charter which they had obtained from Charles II in 1663. The latter charter differed but little from the one received from Elizabeth. The constitution was unaltered, save that the twenty-four of 'the more worthy and discreet men of the borough,' who constituted the council, were described as 'capital' instead of 'principal' burgesses, while the only two points of real difference appear to be the grant of a power to acquire land not exceeding £200 in annual value and the proviso that every person nominated to the office or offices of seneschal, recorder or common clerk of the borough should solicit and obtain confirmation of his office from the king.[2] The reason for this surrender is not quite clear. Macaulay tells us that, after the failure of the Whig plots and the execution of Russell and Sidney, a proscription of the Whigs ensued, use being made of both criminal and civil proceedings. In pursuance of this scheme the franchises of the city of London were declared forfeited to the crown and 'flushed with this great victory the government proceeded to attack the constitutions of other corporations which were governed by Whig officers, and which had been in the habit of returning Whig members to Parliament. Borough after borough was compelled to surrender its privileges; and new charters were granted which gave the ascendancy everywhere to the Tories.'[3] It may have been that the charter of Preston fell in this attack. We are unable to say whether this was so or not, because we do not know definitely what the politics of the corporation were at this time, but from what is recorded of the negotiations there seems to be no reason to assume that the matter was anything but a friendly business arrangement, in which the

1. *Rawstorne Diary*, August 20th, 1684.
2. Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 35–63.
3. Macaulay, *History of England*, Chap. II.

corporation received slightly increased powers and privileges in exchange for cash. Under the new charter the corporations were authorized to acquire land to a greater value than formerly and to hold a three days fair in addition to the ancient fairs, but the most noteworthy circumstance about it is that it contains the first official recognition of aldermen as part of the council, though we know that they had been in existence in Preston since 1328.[1]

There is not much record of corporation activity at this time. The minutes show us an interesting quarrel taking place in the years 1667—1669 between two of the town councillors, John Cottam and Roger Sudell, and the rest of the body. The two councillors definitely refused to subscribe to the declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant, which was required by the Corporation Act, and were accordingly fined respectively forty and fifty pounds and taken into custody by the town sergeant. As they still continued obstinate a compromise was arranged, and they were discharged from the necessity of holding office.[2] This dispute is not without its importance from the religious standpoint, as it shows that Presbyterianism had apparently obtained some considerable hold in the borough.

Still later the corporation had trouble with the vicar, the Revd. Thomas Birch, over his heterodox views as to ritual; but he managed to defy them with success.[3] The diarists frequently heard him preach, but they seem to have preferred the efforts of the successive curates, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Farrand and Mr. Bland, or some of the occasional preachers, like Mr. Benjamin Gregory, Mr. Barton, or Mr. Richard Croston, the headmaster of the Grammar school.

As we have had occasion to mention the Grammar

1. Lingard, *Preston Charters*, 64–94.

2. *White Book*, August 7th, 1667, February 2nd, March 24th, 1668, July 13th and July 21st, 1669.

3. See post, 306–307.

School, it may be well to give a few particulars of it here, especially as it engaged the attention of the corporation during this period. We know that a school was in existence in the year 1358 as the schoolmaster of Preston appears amongst a list of persons who were concerned in certain riotous proceedings at the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which were dealt with at the Assizes held at Preston that year. The first schoolmaster whose name we know was Richard Marshall who was admitted or licensed to be master of the school by the archdeacon of Richmond in 1399,[1] but we are unable to say whether this was the Grammar School or some predecessor of it. The second alternative seems the more probable one, for when Helen Hoghton some eighty years later founded the chantry of the Virgin in the parish church, she directed that the priest thereof should be 'sufficientlye lerned in grammar to thentent to have a fre grammar skole kept *there* also,'[2]—language which certainly points to a new foundation. In the reign of Henry VIII the chantry commissioners noted that 'by reporte of the Inhabitants of the saide towne the ordinaunce of the sayde foundacion hitherunto hayth been well kepte and usyd.' The chantry was of course dissolved and its endowments of the annual value of £3. 2s. 4d. seized by the crown; while the lands from which the income arose were let for a term of years to a William Kenyon.[3] It is true that the commissioners subsequently appointed for the continuance of schools in the second year of Edward VI's reign directed that the school should continue and that the schoolmaster should

1. Fishwick, *History*, 194–195, 206. Richard Marshall was probably the Richard le Marisshall whose name appears in the list of foreign burgesses at the Gild of 1397 and certainly the Richard Marschall, schoolmaster, of the Gild of 1415.

2. *Lancashire Chantries*, Chetham Society, O.S., LX, 205–207.

3. In 1558 the chantry lands were granted by patent to the master and chaplain of the Hospital of the Savoy. *Government Return* (*No. 312*) *of Endowed Charities* (*County of Lancaster and County Borough of Preston*), 32.

have for his stipend £2. 16s. 2d. a year, which they charged on the revenues of the Duchy, but payments ceased in 1560, and were never resumed. Still, by virtue of the continuance warrant, made by Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway, we may claim—if we choose, though the honour is a somewhat doubtful one—that Edward VI or the Protector Somerset was one of the founders of the Preston Grammar School.[1]

In 1612 the town council released the bailiffs from the necessity of providing a feast at Easter for all comers, and directed that in future each of them should pay instead the sum of twenty marks (£6. 13s. 4d.) to the schoolmaster.[2] This arrangement seems to have been continued without question until 1650, when William Curtis, one of the bailiffs for the year, refused to make the payment and set the council at defiance.[3] The council threatened, but two years later they repealed the order, it being 'conceyved to bee dissonant to ye Lawes of this Nacon,' and directed instead that the bailiffs should pay the schoolmaster twenty pounds out of the town's revenues and that the steward should pay him two pounds out of his 'availes,' *i.e.*, the profits of the courts.[4] Shortly afterwards the sum paid by the corporation was raised to £30 a year, and either before or after that event the salary was still further increased in 1663 by a benefaction from Bartholomew Worthington, who devised a close of land to the corporation for the augmentation of the yearly wages of the master of the Grammar School. And so we find that when Mr. George Walmsley was displaced in 1680, because he had taken holy orders and was acting as a minister, Mr. Richard Croston was appointed at the

1. *Government Return* (*No. 312*) *of Endowed Charities* (*County of Lancaster and County Borough of Preston*), 31, 32; Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 117, 124, 125, and 323; Fishwick, *History*, 204; and *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, II, 569–574.

2. *White Book*, August 24th, 1612.

3. *Ibid.*, September 9th, 1650.

4. *Ibid.*, July 16th, 1652.

magnificent salary mentioned above and the 'p'fitts of a Close of ground in Preston belonging to ye school.'[1]

The school, which was in Stonygate, opened at half past six in summer and half past seven in winter and continued till eleven. There was then an interval of two hours and the school closed at five o'clock, except on Thursday afternoon, when it closed at three, and Saturday afternoon which was a holiday. It 'broke up' ten days before Christmas until the day after Twelfth day, the other holidays allowed being five days at Shrovetide, a similar period at Easter, three days at the summer fair and two days at the winter fair. There was also a fairly long holiday of three weeks at Whitsuntide, but during that time the boys had to learn writing. Due regard was evidently paid to the religious education of the scholars, as we learn that they were to be 'catechis'd every week according to the Church Catechism, in English, Greek and Latin, according to their capacities'[2]: this, however, did not make them too serious minded for they seem to have had a playful habit of 'barring out' the headmaster at Christmas time, until their reasonable demands in the way of holidays were granted. About the same period of the year they were made to display their accomplishments, and even Colonel Rawstorne found time to go to hear the boys 'declaim.'[3]

The records concerning the Workhouse[4] have quite a modern air. In January, 1675, the corporation decided

1. *White Book*, December 6th, 1680. The land was known as School Field and was situate in 'Broadgate Lane': the Theatre Royal is built upon part of it. *Government Return* (*No. 312*), 1, 2, 33 and 38; and *Notitia Cestriensis*, Chetham Society, O.S., XXII, 464.

2. *White Book*, September 19th, 1698.

3. *Rawstorne Diary*, December 11th, 1683, and December 10th, 1685.

4. This was on the north side of Avenham Lane at the corner of Bolton's Court. It was superseded in 1788 by a new one situate about 100 yards to the rear of the present infirmary and this was in turn abandoned for the Union workhouse in Fulwood which was opened on December 29th, 1868. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records*, 187 note.

that the poor people of the town could be most usefully employed in manufacturing yarn or worsted for cloth stuffs and stockings, granted £200 for the purchase of wool and machinery and appointed a man named Riley, from Oswaldtwistle, to supervise the undertaking. They also fixed the wages and the hours of labour, and declared that those who would not do the work provided for them should be sent to the House of Correction (which stood between the present Lower Pitt Street and the canal) 'there to be whypt and sett to hard labour and receive due correction for their Idleness.'[1] On reading such regulations as these it seems hard to believe that we are not dealing with a conference of the Labour party, instead of an assemblage of Whigs and Tories, and we can scarcely conceal our surprise that no reference is made to the 'right to work.' It is perhaps rather ominous that in November, 1682, the corporation was called upon to pay the sum of £60 to Richard Lomax as a recompense for the loss sustained by him in selling wool to Riley.[2] But what stands out clearly from the records is the change in the idea of workhouses. In the seventeenth century they were what their name implies, that is, workshops where work and wages were provided for those who could not get them elsewhere. Nowadays, they are institutions, half prison, half barracks, the refuge of those who are unable to work or cannot obtain employment, as well as of those who would not work if they could.

But the diarists are concerned with more than local affairs. Of the war in Ireland between James II and William III we have, of course, a detailed account, as Captain Bellingham took an active part in it, but it is surprising how many of those events of James's reign are recorded which led up to his deposition and made it inevitable. We know from the general histories of

1. *White Book*, January 4th, 1675, and August 4th 1679
2. *Ibid.*, November 6th, 1682.

England how James, a fanatical Roman Catholic, set himself, with much determination but with little wisdom, to remove the disabilities of his co-religionists and to throw open all offices to them. Lancashire was remote from the metropolis and comparatively unimportant at this period of our history, yet the king's policy, or lack of policy, was as apparent here as elsewhere. One of the most foolish things he did was to set the lord lieutenants of the county and the county gentry against him by attempting to make them the instruments of his illegal actions. The design was to 'regulate' the municipal corporations in order to pack a parliament and to revise the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy, so that only those persons should be retained in office who would forward the king's schemes. The local details of this business were entrusted to agents who were known as Regulators, but the persons on whom James chiefly relied for the success of his schemes were the lord lieutenants, who, however, disappointed his expectations by resigning their offices rather than become parties to it. One of the Regulators appeared in Preston and was much in the company of a Quaker, called John Scansfield, who, according to Bellingham, was 'a dangerous seditious fellow and not without some suspicion of being a Jesuit.'[1]

The lord lieutenant of Lancashire during the Revolution was the Earl of Derby, grandson of that Lord Strange who had struck the first blow in Lancashire for Charles I in the Civil War. He resigned or was dismissed from his office, which was given to Lord Molyneux.[2] Roman Catholics were made justices of the peace and the new machinery was set to work. But the deputy lieutenants refused to act with their new

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 16. For particulars of Scansfield or Scanfield, see the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, (1908), V, 67 and 177–187.

2. Macaulay, *History*, Chapter VIII.

superior; and Fleetwood when asked in the moot hall by Molyneux whether he would choose 'such a person (if the King should think fitt to call a Parliament) that would take off the penall Lawes and Test,' did not avail himself of the skilfully worded answer that was circulated throughout the kingdom but boldly replied with an unqualified 'No.'[1]

Another part of James's plan was an attack on the church by means of the Court of High Commission. This failed through the action of Sprat, Bishop of Rochester. The Bishop, though fully aware that the tribunal of which he became a member was illegal, stifled his scruples in the hopes that he would be appointed to the vacant archbishopric of York. It at length became clear to him, however, that his complaisance would avail him nothing, and that only by abjuring his religion and professing that of the king could he hope to obtain his desires. Accordingly when James, continuing his mad career, determined to summon before the Court of High Commission those of the clergy who had refused to read his Declaration of Indulgence—and they were nearly the whole of the clergy of the Church of England—Sprat resigned his post. According to Lord Macaulay the letter in which he communicated his decision to the other Commissioners was the death blow of the Court. We can imagine with what feelings the diarists and their friends would read the copy of it which arrived in Preston on August 26th, 1688.[2]

In another month or so there came the news of the preparations of the Prince of Orange, and James, becoming aware of his danger, hurriedly attempted to conciliate his subjects. He promised to protect the Church of England, to maintain the Act of Uniformity, to replace the magistrates and deputy lieutenants, and he gave an audience to the Archbishop of Canterbury

1. *Fleetwood Diary*, November 17th, 1687.
2. *Bellingham Diary*, 9.

and such bishops as were then in London. This happened at the end of September and on October 5th Roger Kenyon showed Bellingham a letter from Lord Derby, 'wherein was an account of the King's kindness to him and desires of his speedy coming to London.' On the same day there came news of the restoration of the charter of the City of London and of the king's 'great civility and condescencion to the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other Bishops.' It is small wonder that the Roman Catholic justices, who attended the Quarter Sessions, which were then being held, were 'not so haughty as formerly.'[1] Later in the month Lord Derby was not only restored to his lord lieutenancy of Lancashire but appointed to the same office in Cheshire, whereupon the bells of the parish church were rung most of the day.[2]

The progress of events as narrated by Macaulay is confirmed by Bellingham. When we consider the state of the roads and the difficulties of communication, it is astonishing that the news of the day travelled so quickly as it did, and if it be due in any degree to the arrangements made by Alderman Rishton of Preston, who had control of the postal service for the district between Wigan and Kendal, we can only regret that he should have lost money by his enterprise.[3] The gossip as to the legitimacy of James's son,[4] the rising of Lord Delamere in Cheshire,[5] the seizure of York by the Earl of Danby,[6] the desertion of Lord Cornbury, Prince George of Denmark and others,[7] the departures of James for France,[8] the dispute between the Lords and the

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 19.
2. *Ibid.*, 23.
3. *Ibid.*, 28, 29.
4. *Ibid.*, 32.
5. *Ibid.*, 29, 30.
6. *Ibid.*, 31.
7. *Ibid.*, 30, 32.
8. *Ibid.*, 36.

Commons as to whether James had 'abdicated' or 'deserted' the throne[1] are all noted. Even the wars on the continent are referred to by Bellingham and the sieges of Belgrade by the Austrians and of Phillipsburg by the French form the subjects of wagers with Dr. Lee and Dr. Worton.[2] In short and in conclusion, we are much indebted to Bellingham and his English friends for bringing before us in an intimate personal way the great happenings of an eventful period of our history, and for giving us such a close acquaintance with Preston and the Prestonians of a bygone day.

1. *Bellingham Diary*, 47.
2. *Ibid.*, 10, 24, 25.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Rebellion of 1715 to the Industrial Revolution.

When the eighteenth century dawned in England the throne was still occupied by that tenacious, silent, meagre-looking Dutchman whom Bellingham's sword had helped to uphold, but early in 1702 his weak constitution, which only an indomitable spirit could have compelled to undergo the strain to which he subjected it, succumbed to an accident which he received when riding. His sister-in-law, the weak and amiable Anne, succeeded to the crown and was at first guided entirely by the Duke of Marlborough and his able but bad tempered wife. Marlborough and Godolphin, who became the chief ministers, were Tories, but found themselves compelled to rely upon Whig support in order to carry on the great war against Louis XIV, which William III had planned. This war, which is known in history as the war of the Spanish Succession, lasted nearly the whole of the queen's reign and was persisted in long after its object of limiting the ambitious schemes of the French king had been accomplished. The people not unnaturally grew weary of it. The queen also became tired of being bullied by the duchess, and the High Church party longed to put an end to the toleration which was extended to Dissenters. As a consequence a Tory reaction followed, the Whigs were driven from power and the war was ended by the Treaty of Utrecht. Anne's health, however, was not good and her successor under the terms of the Act of Settlement was George, Elector of Hanover, who was known to favour the Whigs. In order that they might not lose the power which they had recently gained, the High Church and Tory party, who already more than half regretted the

part they had taken in expelling James II and their treachery to the doctrines of 'divine right,' 'passive obedience,' and 'non-resistance,' plotted to restore the Stuarts and to place upon the throne James's son, who had been brought up at the French court and was a Roman Catholic. The death of the queen, on August 1st, 1714, fortunately occurred before their plans were completed and the new king, George I, ascended the throne without any open opposition.

Next year, however, the secret discontent made itself apparent and plots were hatched all over the country. The prompt measures taken by the government prevented most of them from coming to a head in England[1]: but in Scotland the Earl of Mar raised the standard of revolt at Braemar on September 6th and a month later Thomas Forster, with the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Widdrington took up arms in Northumberland.[2] The latter united their forces with certain Lowland insurgents under Lord Kenmure and the Earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun and Carnwath, and were presently joined at Kelso by an old and experienced soldier, Brigadier McIntosh, with the clan Chattan and other troops which had previously formed part of Mar's forces. There was the greatest indecision for some time as to whether they should march into England or direct their attention to securing Scotland for the Pretender, until the arrival of Lord Widdrington from Lancashire, with a report that if they marched through that county they would be joined by 20,000 men, induced them to cross the border at Longtown. On a generous estimate their numbers did not total 2,000 horse and foot, many of whom were imperfectly armed and accoutred, while

1. *Political History of England*, IX, 248–249.

2. Several novels have been written in which the interest centres round this rebellion. Amongst them may be mentioned *Preston Fight*, by W. Harrison Ainsworth, founded on Dr. Hibbert Ware's *Lancashire Memorials of 1715*, Chetham Society, O.S., V, and *Dorothy Forster*, by Sir Walter Besant.

they were commanded by the incompetent Forster, who was merely a plain country squire without any knowledge or experience of the art of war and had been selected for this important post for the sole reason that he was a Protestant. Marching from Longtown by Brampton they arrived at Penrith on November 2nd and proceeding by Appleby and Kendal reached Lancaster on the 7th, from which place Sir Henry Hoghton one of the members for Preston, who was in command of the militia, retreated on their approach. Here they seized six guns from a ship at Sunderland Point and after staying a day in the town, set off for Preston, the horse arriving there on the evening of November 9th and the foot the following day. They were most hospitably entertained when they reached the town, but there were no indications of any general rising in their favour. The High Church Tories in particular showed little inclination to fulfil their boastful threats or to endanger their lives and their property by joining the insurgents, and the few recruits they had obtained on their journey were Roman Catholics, nearly to a man. Of the prominent Lancashire gentry, who offered their support at Preston, there were scarcely more than half a dozen and all of them Catholics. Amongst them was Lord Widdrington's brother-in-law Richard Towneley of Towneley, Richard Shuttleworth of Preston, Edward Tyldesley of Myerscough, an Anderton of Lostock, near Bolton, and a Standish of Standish, near Chorley. With their retainers and followers they numbered 200—by far the largest accession of strength that Forster had received on his march.

The government had entrusted the duty of suppressing the insurrection to General Carpenter who had been hard upon the rebels' heels when they decided to march into England. He was led to believe, however, that their object was to attack Newcastle and he accordingly withdrew in the direction of that place instead of advancing on Carlisle. On learning his mistake he set out

across Yorkshire to intercept their line of advance. But if Carpenter was out of the way the path was not clear, for General Wills was assembling at Wigan certain regiments which had been distributed through the county owing to the riots of the previous year. In spite of the nearness of the enemy the rebels remained inactive. An attorney's clerk, who had joined the expedition at Kendal, supplies us with a possible reason. 'The Ladys in this toune, Preston,' he says, 'are so very beautyfull and richly attired, that the Gentlemen Soldiers from Wednesday to Saturday minded nothing but courting and ffeasting.'[1] Whether that be the explanation or not, it is certain that Forster took no steps either to march against Wills before he had collected his troops, or to entrench himself in the town or to prepare for a retreat.

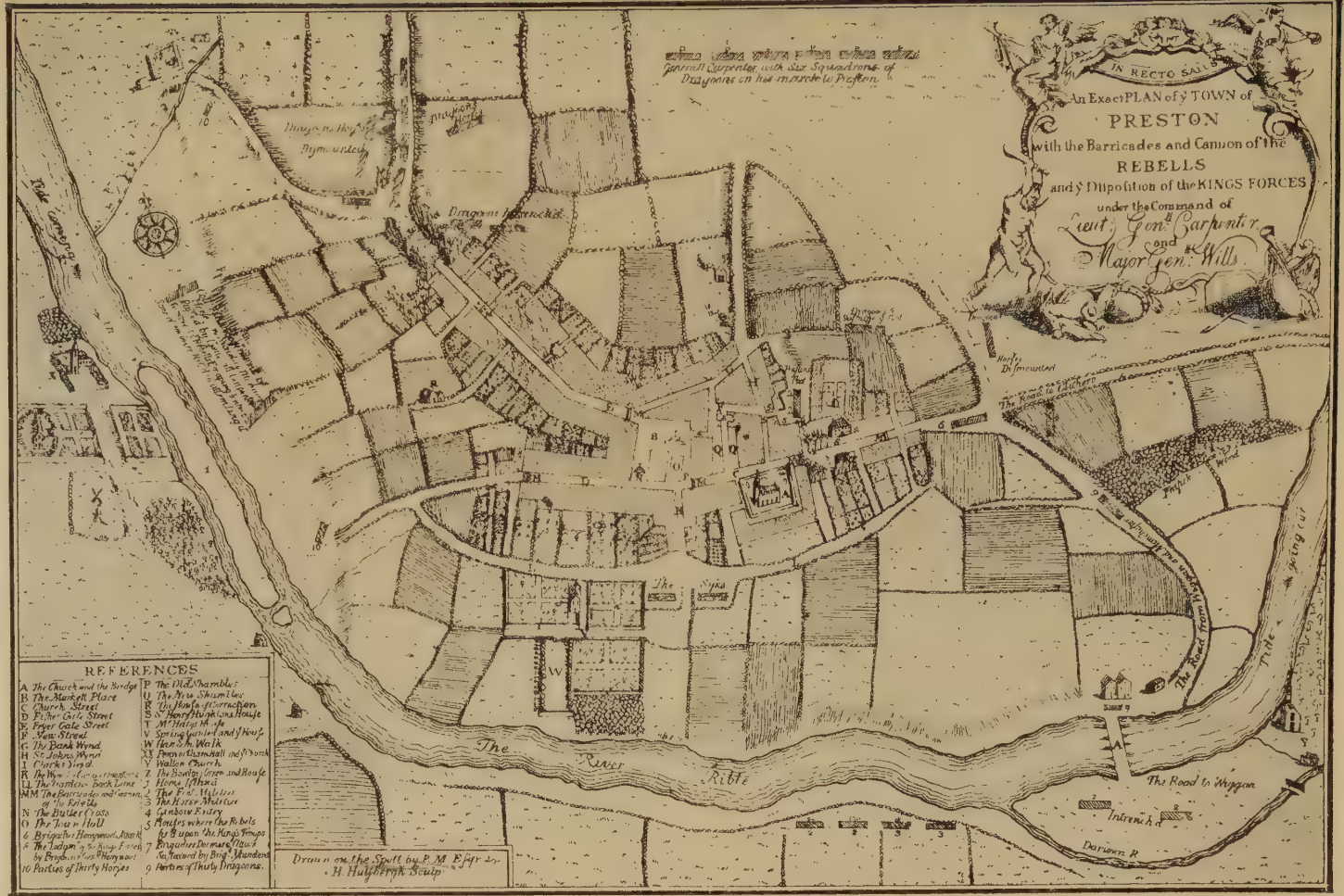
Early in the morning of Saturday, November 12th, Wills left Wigan and advanced in the direction of Preston. He arrived at Walton-le-dale about 11 o'clock, where to his surprise he found that the bridge over the Ribble was unguarded. The responsibility for withdrawing the guards is attributed to Brigadier McIntosh, who had come to the conclusion that 'the body of the town was the security of the army.'[2] He was probably led to take the course he did by several considerations. Though there was no other bridge, yet the river was fordable in several places and while the guarding of the bridge might have delayed the enemy's advance for a short time, on the other hand the defenders might have been cut off by troops who had crossed at another point. But the main reason was undoubtedly the composition of the two forces. The troops under Forster's command consisted chiefly of infantry, amongst whom are to be reckoned the Highlanders, with a small body of mounted

1. *Lancashire Memorials of 1715*, Chetham Society, O.S., V, 107.

2. These words were actually uttered by Forster, but the idea contained in them is attributed to McIntosh. *Ibid.*, 129.

gentlemen. Wills' army on the other hand was almost entirely composed of horse and dragoons, with only one regiment of foot and no artillery. Putting on one side the proved inability of the Highlanders to withstand a cavalry charge, it is clear that the rebels' only chance of success lay not in meeting the enemy in the open, where his superior mobility would give him the advantage, but in relying upon street fighting for which cavalry were peculiarly unsuitable, but where infantry taking cover in houses and on the roofs would be able to work great execution amongst the besiegers. So far as they went no objection can be taken to McIntosh's tactics: the real unsoundness of the rebels' position lay in the approach of Carpenter with reinforcements, which would give the besiegers an overwhelming superiority in point of numbers and make the ultimate issue merely one of time. If the disappointments which they had previously experienced had not already made it apparent, it must have become clear to the rebel leaders within twenty-four hours of their arrival in Preston that Widdrington had been misled, that there was no possibility of a general rising in the county in support of the Pretender and that to linger in the town or to march further south was simply to court disaster. Had the rebel general been a man of decision and capable of appreciating the dangers which menaced him, he would at once have ordered an immediate retreat by forced marches as the only feasible way of escape from a hopeless situation.

However, he had not done so and it was McIntosh's duty to make the best of a bad business and to prepare to meet an attack on the town. This he did by throwing up four barricades, one at the far end of Church Street in the road which led from it down to the bridge and is called Wigan Lane in the accounts we possess of the siege, a second in Church Street itself, where he commanded in person and was supported by the Earl of Derwentwater with the Lowland and Northumberland troops and a detachment of Highlanders, a third close to


IN RECTO SALUS
An Exact PLAN of y^e TOWN of
PRESTON
with the Barricades and Cannon of the
REBELLS
and y^e Disposition of the KINGS FORCES
under the Command of
Lieut. Genl Carpenter
and
Major Genl Wills
Generall Carpenter with Six Squadrons of Dragoones on his march to Preston
REFERENCES
A The Church and the Bridge
B The Market Place
C Church Street
D Fisher Gate Street
E Foyer Gate Street
F Main Street
G The Bank Wynd
H St. Johns Wynd
I Clarks Wynd
K The Wynd
L The Fratters Back Lane
MM The Barricades and Cannon of the Rebells
N The Butter Cross
O The Town Hall
6 Brigadier Honywood
8 The Lodgings of Brigadier Farrell by Brigadier Honywood
10 Parties of Thirty Horses
P The Old Shambles
Q The New Shambles
R The House of Correction
S Sr Henry Hoghtons House
T Mr Hurst Maister
V Spring Garden and House
W Main Sh. Walk
X Penwortham Hall and Work
Y Hallow Church
1 The Bowling Green and House
2 Horse Patrouil
3 The Post Masters
5 Houses where the Rebels fir'd upon the Kings Troops
7 Brigadier Dormare Quarters possessed by Brigr Mundens
9 Parties of Thirty Dragoons.
Drawn on the Spott by P. M. Esqr
H. Hulsbergh Sculp
The River Ribble
The Road to Wigan
Intrench.t
Darwen R
The Road to Lancaster
Dismounted
Dragoons Encamped
Dragoons Dismounted
Fisher Gate
Main Street
Bank Wynd
Church Street
Market Place
Fisher Gate Street
Foyer Gate Street
Spring Gardens
Ribble

SIEGE OF PRESTON, 1715. (P.M.'S REBELLION MAP).

a windmill near the bottom of Friargate, which was defended by the McIntoshes and the fourth in Fishergate where some other Highlanders were placed. Two of the guns brought from Lancaster, charged with small shot, were placed at the Church Street barricade and the rest of the troops which were to act as reserves were drawn up in the market place. These preparations had scarcely been completed when the enemy were upon them.

After crossing the river Wills carefully examined the road leading to the town for an ambush and having found none led his troops up it. He then divided his forces into two with a view to attacking the town from two points, namely, from Wigan Lane and Church Street and from the north where Friargate led to the road to Lancaster. Realizing the impossibility of using his cavalry and dragoons, he dismounted most of them, simply retaining sufficient mounted troops to sustain the others in the attack. Having made this disposition of his forces his instructions to them were to endeavour to gain possession of the town and to set the houses on fire in order to dislodge the defenders.

The attack was commenced at the Church Street end of the town about 2 o'clock in the afternoon when a detachment of government troops drove the rebels from the first barricade and pressed on to the second. In their advance they were met with a raking fire from the houses on both sides of the street and were compelled to retreat with heavy loss. Other detachments, however, which had been instructed to advance up the narrow passages behind the houses were more successful and captured two large houses, those of Sir Henry Hoghton,[1] and a Mr. Ayres.[2] The first named house, which had

1. From the description given in the accounts of the siege and its situation, it is clear that Sir Henry Hoghton's house must have been Patten House, which belonged to the Earl of Derby. We can only suppose that it had been let to Hoghton. For Patten House, see Hewitson, *Court Leet Records*, 55–56.

2. It is not known who Mr. Ayres was: Hardwick calls him Mr. Eyre. See Hardwick, *History*, 227, n.

an extensive garden attached to it, was situate on the north side of Church Street and commanded the Wigan Lane. Through some blunder on the part of Forster or McIntosh the men who had been detailed to garrison this important post were withdrawn and thus it and the house of Mr. Ayres opposite fell into the hands of Wills's troops. Every effort should at once have been made to recapture them and a suggestion was indeed made that the cannon should be turned on them, but Forster forbade it and allowed the enemy to retain possession of the houses, which not only afforded them cover, but enabled them to carry out their instructions to set fire to the houses and barns, which intervened between them and the barricade. Fortunately for the insurgents the wind was unfavourable and the flames did not spread, but the device had the effect of driving the defenders further into the town.

The attack from the north on the windmill barricade was not made until 4 o'clock in the afternoon when a body of men proceeded up the Back Weind, a narrow street or lane that runs almost parallel with Friargate, and attempted to carry it by assault. The Highlanders, however, taking advantage of the cover afforded by garden walls, hedges and ditches successfully repelled them. After this failure Brigadier Dormer, who had been entrusted with the conduct of the operations here, gave orders for the houses to be fired and they were burned right up to the barricade.

By this time the dusk of the November afternoon had changed to night and hostilities ceased, save for a few shots that were occasionally exchanged between the rebels and those of the king's troops who had established themselves in the houses in Church Street. The glow of the burning houses was still to be seen in the sky as the troops of both armies lay on their arms till the morning.

At 10 o'clock the next day, which was a Sunday, General Carpenter arrived from Clitheroe with 2,500 men and joined Wills. Very generously he allowed his

subordinate officer to remain in command in order that he might receive the credit of the victory which could not now be long delayed, but in company with him he made a circuit of the town, as a result of which a body of troops was posted near to the Fishergate exit in order that any attempt of the insurgents to escape in that direction might be prevented. While these new dispositions were being made, a few slight skirmishes took place in which several men were killed on both sides.

When these alterations were completed and it became clear to the insurgents that they were hemmed in on all sides, the Highlanders wished to sally out and attack the enemy, but Forster and his English friends, without consulting the Scotch leaders resolved to seek for terms. Colonel Oxburgh accordingly was sent out, but the only conditions that Wills would consent to make were that the rebels should surrender unconditionally, while he on his part would spare their lives until he had further orders. When the envoy returned and gave in his report to the insurgent leaders, who were assembled at their headquarters at the Mitre, on the east side of the market square, the greatest confusion ensued. The Scots had learned of Forster's proposals and declared that they would not consent to surrender but would die fighting. Eventually, an armistice was arranged until the following morning, the Earl of Derwentwater and Colonel McIntosh[1] being handed over to the enemy as hostages for its observance.

Soon after 7 o'clock next morning a messenger from the town informed General Wills that his terms were accepted and that the insurgents were prepared to surrender. The leaders were spared the indignity of a public surrender and were allowed to deliver up their swords at the Mitre, but the general body of the troops were assembled in the market place where they laid down their arms and were afterwards marched off to the church

1. This was the Laird of McIntosh, a kinsman of Brigadier McIntosh.

and imprisoned there. The town was then taken possession of by the loyalist troops who were allowed to plunder the houses of the innocent townspeople.[1]

Thus ingloriously ended the expedition. A speedy vengeance followed it. Six of the insurgent officers were tried for desertion by a court martial which sat at Preston and four of them were shot. The chief prisoners were sent to Wigan and so on to London, where the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were found guilty of high treason and beheaded on Tower Hill. Of the rest Forster, the Earl of Nithsdale, the Earl of Wintoun and Brigadier McIntosh managed to escape to the continent, and Lords Widdrington and Nairn were pardoned. In the following January the judges sat at Liverpool to deal with the other prisoners who had been taken at Preston, 74 of whom were tried for their complicity in the rebellion. Twelve of them were executed at Preston, some on January 28th and others on February 9th, on a hill, which retained until modern times the name of Gallows Hill.[2] Amongst them were Richard Chorley of Chorley, William Butler of Myerscough, Thomas Coupe of Walton-le-dale, Roger Muncaster, an attorney of Garstang, and Richard Shuttleworth of Preston, whose head was afterwards fixed on the town hall. The majority of the other prisoners submitted to the king's mercy and petitioned for transportation.

Though this expedition came to an untimely end many of the clans still remained secretly loyal to the exiled Stuarts. As for the Lowlanders, the material benefits which the union with England was bringing in its train were quickly reconciling them to being ruled by alien monarchs who lived in London. In England, and

1. The day before, November 13th, 1715, an indecisive battle was fought at Sheriff Muir, near Dunblane, between the rebels under the Earl of Mar and the king's troops under the Duke of Argyll.

2. The Roman Catholic Church of the English Martyrs, which is situate at the junction of Garstang Road and St. George's Road is built on part of the site of it.

especially in Lancashire, the Jacobite cause had its sympathisers, but as they confined themselves to such harmless exhibitions of disloyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty as toasting the king 'over the water,' the authorities wisely took no notice of them. Some curious evidence as to the extent to which the county was affected by Jacobitism is to be found in the existence of a Jacobite club at Walton-le-dale. This institution was known as the 'mock' corporation of Walton-le-dale, and it possessed a set of officials similar to those appointed by the corporation of a borough, such as a mayor, bailiffs, serjeants, a recorder and a town clerk together with a few others, such as a jester and a 'slut-kisser,' who are not generally attached to municipal bodies. It was formed in 1701 and William ffarington of Worden was the first mayor. In 1711 the same office was borne by the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater. Many of the Lancashire gentry and a few nobles filled the different offices. It met at the Unicorn Inn and was at first unquestionably a Jacobite body, but in process of time it became a social gathering which Whigs were able to join: later still, it passed into the hands of the villagers and eventually ended its career about 1796.[1]

Another opportunity of testing the value of the professions of these pot-valiant Tories[2] was afforded in 1745, when the Young Pretender after winning the battle of Prestonpans determined to march into England. The line of march was almost the same as that taken in the rebellion thirty years previously and the troops were under the command of Lord George Murray. From Carlisle they came through Lancaster to Preston, which they reached on November 27th but only stayed one day as they were anxious to get to Manchester. Except that

1. Hardwick, *History*, 250–253.

2. In 1715 Patten, chaplain to Forster, alleged that the High Church Tories were never right hearty for the cause till they were mellow and that they did not care for 'venturing their carcases any farther than the tavern.' *Lancashire Memorials of 1715*, Chetham Society, O.S., V, 172.

their progress was more rapid, it almost reads like a repetition of that we have already described. There was the same coldness on the part of the inhabitants of the counties through which they passed, the same scarcity of recruits, who again were chiefly Roman Catholics, and the same misjudgment of the likelihood of Lancashire rising in their favour. We need not follow them on their march to Derby and their retreat from there pursued by Oglethorp's dragoons. They arrived at Preston for the second time on December 12th, left it the following morning and, moving with great expedition, crossed the border on the 20th, having marched nearly 200 miles in wintry weather and sustained only trifling losses. Both the inhabitants of the town and the authorities seem to have been particularly careful to observe a policy of neutrality and the only important recruit who joined the rebels at Preston was a Towneley, a member of the same Roman Catholic family which sent a representative to the previous expedition.

We have shown that there were many amongst the county families who professed loyalty to the Stuarts, and the state of the parliamentary representation of the borough in this period would lead us to believe that the cause had its sympathisers in the borough. We have also a little direct evidence on the point. On December 4th, 1717, the town council ordered that Evan Hewson[1] and Thomas Higham, two of the capital burgesses, should be removed from their places because of their refusal to take the oaths prescribed by 'an Act of Parliament made in the first yeare of the Reign of his present Majesty King George, intituled an Act for the further security of his Majesties person and Government and the Succession of the Crown in the heires of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and for extinguishing the

1. It will be remembered that Evan Hewson was Captain Bellingham's landlord. Prior to their expulsion Hewson had been a member of the council for 34 and Higham for 19 years.

hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and his open and secret abettors.'

When we come to the indirect evidence of the representation of the borough we have to proceed with caution, for it must be remembered that even at the commencement of the eighteenth century not every Tory was a Jacobite and that as the century proceeded the Jacobite taint became weaker and weaker, until the party transferred its entire fund of loyal sentiments to the account of George III, and united with him to wrest the reins of government from the hands of the great Whig families. With this warning we may point out that in the first three parliaments of the century the members for the borough were all Whigs, but that from 1705 to 1741 (with the exception of the parliament that sat from 1722 to 1727, when both members were Tories), the representation was shared between the two parties. From 1741 to 1768 all the members were Tories, but after The Great Election, which occurred in that year, down to the close of the century the balance of power lay in the opposite direction and Preston was represented solely by Whig members.

Until 1768 the parliamentary representation was far from being a perfect test of the feelings of the general body of the inhabitants of the borough, but it affords a very good indication of the sympathies of the most important of them, namely, the members of the corporation. For though the claim of the town council to return members had been defeated in 1661, when the in-burgesses successfully maintained their right to participate in elections, yet it exercised great influence upon them, because it possessed the power to grant or to withhold the freedom of the borough. If a man was not a resident in-burgess he was not entitled to a vote, and the right of admission, both at the celebration of the Gild and by Court roll, being in the hands of the corporation it will easily be seen that they were able to manipulate the list of electors to suit their own interests. After the

election of 1768 and the subsequent petitions the position was changed, as the House of Commons declared that all the inhabitants, whether in-burgesses or not, were entitled to vote, thereby destroying the power of the corporation and establishing manhood suffrage in Preston.

This short summary of the parliamentary representation of the borough during the eighteenth century shows us that the same cause which affected the majority of English boroughs and made their governing bodies Tory had a similar result in Preston. What the cause was has been clearly set forth by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in their work on *English Local Government*. 'The Revolution Settlement had left unrepealed the Corporation and Test Acts of 1661 and 1672, which required from all persons admitted to Corporate offices, the taking of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, the signing of a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the reception, within one year before their appointment, of the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Anglican Church. The effect of this test, as was indeed intended, was to exclude all honest Roman Catholics and consistent Protestant Dissenters. Moreover, as the Common Council was often supreme in the election of the members to represent the Borough in Parliament, or at any rate very influential in their choice, the desire of the party in possession to retain what was becoming a valuable privilege, led to the persistent exclusion of recruits belonging to the opposite faction. Thus, Common Councils became early in the eighteenth century exclusively partisan in religion and politics; in the vast majority of Corporations it need hardly be said, exclusively Anglican and Tory.'[1]

1. The Corporation Act was aimed principally at the Presbyterians; the Test Act at the Catholics. From 1727 onward parliament almost every year passed an Act of Indemnity (from 1760 annually) for the protection of persons who had taken office, without complying with the requirements of these Acts. Webb, *English Local Government*, II, 391 and note 2.

Before we proceed to describe the election of 1768 we propose to glance at some of the members who sat for the town during the seventy years preceding it. At the last parliament in the seventeenth century the two members were Thomas Molyneux and Henry Ashurst, the Attorney General for the Duchy, both of whom were Whigs. In the first parliament of the new century Edward Rigby, also a Whig, (who had been a candidate at an election in 1690, but had withdrawn before the contest was concluded), was Ashurst's colleague, but at the next election Molyneux and Ashurst were again returned. In 1702 two more Whigs were returned in the persons of Sir Cyril Wyche and a cadet of the house of Stanley. Three years later Edward Rigby was again elected, on this occasion in company with Francis Annesley, a Tory, but as Rigby died during the course of this parliament a by-election became necessary. This by-election was contested, Arthur Mainwaring[1] being the Whig candidate and Henry Fleetwood of Penwortham, a member of the Jacobite club, standing in the Tory interest. In the result Mainwaring was elected by the narrow majority of six votes. Fleetwood petitioned against the return alleging corrupt and illegal practices, but probably withdrew it as it did not receive consideration in the House of Commons. In the next parliament, that of 1708, both Fleetwood and Mainwaring were returned and the former also sat in the parliaments of 1710, 1714 and 1715. In 1710 Fleetwood's colleague was Sir Henry Hoghton, whom we have seen in command of the militia and assisting General Wills to suppress the rebellion of 1715. Hoghton, of course, was a Whig and sat as such, not only in this parliament but in those of 1714, 1727 and 1734.

1. A well known author and pamphleteer, who was originally a Jacobite but afterwards became a Whig, and was made auditor of imprests by Godolphin. He was intimate with Mrs. Oldfield, the actress, by whom he had a child. *Dict. Nat Biog.*, XXXV, 346–347.

In 1722 the sitting members Fleetwood and Hoghton were successfully opposed by two Tories, Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, and Daniel Pulteney,[1] a cousin of the more celebrated William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, but at the next election in 1728 the usual order of things was reverted to and the two parties divided the representation. The members on this occasion were Hoghton and Pulteney but on the death of the latter in 1713 he was succeeded by Nicholas Fazakerley, 'a Jacobite of the cautious type,' who represented the town without intermission for thirty-five years,[2] and was recorder of it for twenty-five. Hoghton and Fazakerley sat in another parliament together, but on the dissolution of that assembly in 1741, the period of Tory domination began and down to Fazakerley's death in 1767 his colleague was always a Tory like himself.

The first of Fazakerley's colleagues was James Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe Hall, near Padiham, and Barton Lodge, near Preston, who sat with him in the parliaments of 1741 and 1747. The second was Edmund Starkie, son of Nicholas Starkie, Attorney General for the county and great grandson of that unfortunate member of the family who lost his life in the explosion, which took place at Hoghton Tower on the occasion of its surrender to the parliamentary troops in the first

1. Pulteney was also returned for the pocket borough of Hedon, near Hull, at this election, but elected to sit for Preston. He was an able but not brilliant man, was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, and was an implacable enemy of Sir Robert Walpole without being able to do him much injury. His death was hastened by his irregular drinking habits. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLVII, 24–25. He presented the town with its first fire engine. Dobson, *History of the Parliamentary Representation of Preston*, 31. His portrait is to be seen in the Preston Free Library.

2. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XVIII, 270–271. He was a member of the family of Fazakerley of Fazakerley in the parish of Walton-on-the Hill and the Hundred of West Derby. There is a full length portrait of him in the Preston Free Library, painted by a Preston artist, Anthony Devis, brother of Bartholomew Devis, who was mayor in 1774.

Civil War.[1] Like his father he was a barrister-at-law and on Fazakerley's death he was appointed recorder of the borough. He was a strong Tory and Jacobite and entertained the Young Pretender when he passed through the town in 1745.[2]

On Fazakerley's death in 1767 he was succeeded by Sir Peter Leicester, Bart., of Tabley in Cheshire, who sat with Edmund Starkie until the dissolution of parliament in 1768.

At the general election which ensued four candidates offered themselves for election. The Tory candidates, who had the support of the corporation, were Sir Peter Leicester the old member and Sir Frank Standish, Bart., of Duxbury, who was nominated in the place of Starkie who retired.

The other candidates were the nominees of two great Whig families, the Stanleys, who were Churchmen, and the Hoghtons, who were Presbyterians. John Burgoyne, who represented the Stanley element in the coalition, was not at this time so important a person as he subsequently became. Though the dispute with our American colonies was maturing, war had not yet broken out and consequently his name was not yet unfortunately associated with that surrender at Saratoga, which finally extinguished all hopes of reducing the colonists to submission by force of arms. In 1768 he was merely a colonel in the regular army and governor of Fort William. He was, however, a member of a well known Bedfordshire family and had increased his social position by eloping with and marrying Lady Charlotte Stanley, a daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby, when a junior officer in a regiment of dragoons. It was, of course, this last circumstance that led to his appearance before the electors of Preston.[3]

1. See ante, 126.
2. *Remains of John Byrom*, Chetham Society, O.S., XLIV, 388.
3. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, VII, 340–342.

Sir Henry Hoghton, the other Whig candidate, was the nephew and heir of his predecessor of the same name, who had taken part in opposing the rebels in 1715 and had himself represented the town in several parliaments.

This election is known in the history of Preston as The Great Election, and we believe that the title which has been conferred upon it, is justified by a variety of circumstances, but chiefly by the fact that it broke down the powers of the exclusive Tory clique, which had so long controlled the corporation and through the corporation the right of admission to the freedom of the borough, and resulted in the establishment of manhood suffrage in the town. The occasion of the election was the falling to pieces of that administration which was formed by the elder Pitt and has been pilloried for all time in the description of it given by Burke.[1] The question of the taxation of our American colonies, the recent attempts of the House of Commons to interfere with popular representation in the Wilkes case and the attack that was being made on party government by George III and 'the king's friends' are the matters with which we associate this election, when we regard it from a national standpoint, but throughout the course of the contest at Preston national issues were scarcely ever mentioned and were entirely subordinated to the local issue which we have mentioned above.

Preparations for the election began on both sides some six months before the poll was taken, and as time passed on the heat which such an affair always creates was fanned into a fury such as had never been seen before

1. 'He made an administration, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement: here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was, indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.' *Speech on American Taxation*, 1774.

and has never been witnessed since. 'The two baronets,' as the Tory candidates were generally called, imported colliers from the neighbourhood of Chorley, while Burgoyne and Hoghton brought farm labourers from their country estates, with the result that for a period of three months the town, and the lives and the property of its inhabitants, were at the mercy of hired bands of ruffians. In one of the faction fights a Mr. Samuel Crane, a member of a well known Presbyterian family,[1] was so seriously hurt that he died from his injuries. On another occasion the Whig mob laid hold of the Tory mayor, Edward Moss, and put him under the pump. The Roman Catholics had incurred the enmity of the Whigs because they favoured the Tory cause, and it was alleged that many of them had been admitted to the freedom in order to support the Tory candidates. In revenge the mob broke into the chapel of St. Mary in Friargate, and another Roman Catholic chapel at Cottam, and plundered them of their contents. There was scarcely a whole window left in the town, houses and shops were barricaded and many inhabitants left the town to escape this reign of misrule.

In this rioting the Whig mercenaries obtained the upper hand and their adversaries were compelled to sue for peace. In such straits were they that on February 20th ten of the principal Tories actually signed a statement, exonerating the Whig leaders from blame for the damage that had been done and undertaking not to institute any legal proceedings in respect of it. This was probably wrung from them by fear, as it was afterwards repudiated on behalf of the Tory party in a publication which stated that they had been obliged to sign it for the safety of their lives, and that if they had not done so the warehouse of Mr. Pedder (before which a mob of 2,000 people was then assembled) and the houses and warehouses of principal traders would have been ransacked.

1. See post, 316.

Though these proceedings (which were euphemistically termed 'the canvass') must have seemed interminable to the unfortunate townspeople, they could not last for ever and eventually the poll was opened on March 21st and the voting went on for twelve days, finishing on April 1st. The polling was presided over by the mayor, who was a barrister-at-law, and the mayor's bailiff Robert Farrand, the town's bailiff, Nicholas Winckley, who ought also to have presided, being so ill that he could not be present. The method of polling adopted had been forced upon the corporation by the Whig leaders and differed entirely from that in use at previous elections. Beforetime, it had been customary for the members of the corporation to vote first and then a start being made at a certain part of the town to poll the electors by house row. This method was objected to by the supporters of Burgoyne and Hoghton, probably because it was thought that if the members of the corporation, who were all Tories, were allowed to vote first, the knowledge that the leading men in the town were supporting the Tory candidates and the absence of any votes for their opponents would adversely affect the Whig chances. It was consequently arranged that the voters should be polled in tallies of ten to be taken alternately on each side until the list of voters was exhausted.

When the voters presented themselves the presiding officers disallowed the votes of all except the inhabitant in-burgesses, that is to say, those who had been admitted as in-burgesses to the freedom of the borough, either at the celebration of the Gild or by copy of court roll, and who, in addition, were actually resident in the town. Persons in receipt of poor relief were also rejected, while people who were suspected of being Roman Catholics were challenged by the representatives of the Whig candidates and required to take the oaths on presenting themselves for the purpose of voting. According to a statement put forward by the corporation in the proceedings which ensued after the election, polling proceeded

in this manner without dispute until the eighth day, when the Whigs, having come to the conclusion that they had a minority of duly qualified electors, commenced to offer the votes of numerous persons who were inhabitants but not in-burgesses. Amongst these persons whose votes were thus tendered was the Revd. Randal Andrews, who had been vicar of the parish from 1745, but because of his known Whig sympathies had been excluded from the freedom. This must subsequently have appeared to the corporation to have been a foolish step, as it seems to be admitted that it was he, who discovered that the return to the petition after the disputed election of 1661 laid down that 'all the inhabitants' had voices in the choice of members of parliament, and urged that the restrictions of the right to vote to inhabitant in-burgesses was contrary to that ruling. The Whigs consequently continued to present those of the inhabitants, who supported them though they were not in-burgesses and brought forward some 330 persons of this class. Whether the Tories could have discovered an equal number in favour of their candidates we cannot say, because, as they had already declared what was the sole qualification for the possession of the franchise, to have tendered any voters of this class would have been tantamount to admitting the soundness of their opponents' contention. Consequently voting proceeded on the basis already laid down and the result of the election was declared to be as follows :—

Sir Peter Leicester, Bart.....	(T.)	289 votes.
Sir Frank Standish, Bart. ...	(T.)	276 votes.
Colonel Burgoyne	(W.)	259 votes.
Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart. ...	(W.)	230 votes.

Three petitions against the return were promptly presented to the House of Commons, one on behalf of Colonel Burgoyne and Sir H. Hoghton and the others on behalf of certain of the inhabitants. The foundation of the petitioners' case has already been indicated. The

reply of the corporation was to the effect that in all the orders made at the Gilds it was laid down either expressly or by implication that only the in-burgesses who were actually residing in the town, were entitled to vote at elections and that this rule had not been altered by the decision given in 1661, because the question at issue then was only whether the right to vote was possessed by members of the corporation or by the whole of the inhabitant in-burgesses. It was further alleged that at the disputed election of 1690 it was admitted by counsel on both sides that the franchise was restricted to this class and that the arguments proceeded on the basis of this admission, while it was also pointed out that the Whig candidates had accepted this qualification at first and in the early stages of the polling had themselves taken objection to certain Tory voters who had not obtained admission to the freedom of the borough.

The petitions were taken into consideration by the whole House of Commons and not by a committee thereof, as was the practice at an earlier and at a later period. The powerful Stanley influence was exercised to procure a wide interpretation of the previous declaration and it was accordingly put and carried that Colonel Burgoyne and Sir H. Hoghton were duly elected.

It can scarcely be disputed by any one who considers the matter impartially that the decision of the House was wrong and the contention of the corporation was sound in point of law and custom, but the latter body had acted so tyrannously in proscribing their political opponents that their defeat cannot possibly excite sympathy in the breast of any fair minded man. It would almost appear as if the irony of fate had dictated that an election, in which the corporate clique had endeavoured to claim for themselves the sole power of election, should, less than a hundred years later, be made the instrument for casting down their modified but still arrogant pretensions and for conferring on the people of Preston a wider franchise than they possess at the present day.

At the next election which was held in 1774 Burgoyne and Hoghton were returned unopposed, but in 1780 it was decided that an attempt should be made to secure a reversal of the decision given in 1768, and a John Fenton was put forward to maintain the exclusive rights of the in-burgesses. He was defeated and petitioned, but without success, for a committee of the House of Commons to whom the matter was referred reported in favour of the franchise being 'in all the inhabitants.' Another and a final attempt to upset this ruling was made in 1784, when the Whig candidates were again Burgoyne and Hoghton and their Tory opponents two barristers, Ralph Clayton, and the well known politician Michael Angelo Taylor ('Chicken Taylor'), who afterwards left his party and became a Whig.[1] On Burgoyne and Hoghton being declared elected the usual petitions followed, but the only result was to secure another verdict against the in-burgesses' claims.

The vagueness of the term 'inhabitants' made it very difficult to decide who was entitled to vote at elections and led to the importing of persons to live in the town who had no real intention of taking up their residence there. A more satisfactory state of affairs, however, ensued after 1786, for an Act of Parliament was passed in that year one clause of which provided that no persons exercising the franchise as scot and lot voters, householders, pot wallers, or inhabitants, should vote unless they had been inhabitants for six months previous to the election.[2]

In 1790 Burgoyne and Hoghton were returned together for the fifth time on this occasion without any

1. He was one of the committee of managers for the impeachment of Warren Hastings and was later appointed a privy councillor. He gave his name to the Metropolitan Paving Act, 1817 (57 Geo. III, c. 129), which is frequently called Michael Angelo Taylor's Act. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LV, 453–454, and Stirling, *Annals of a Yorkshire House*, II, 40–47.

2. 26 Geo. III, c. 100.

contest. Two years later the former died and was succeeded by W. Cunliffe Shawe of Preston and of Singleton Lodge, who owned an extensive tract of property known as 'The Park,' lying to the east of the town and now covered by the houses and streets that are situate between Pole Street and Deepdale Road.

In 1795 Sir Henry Hoghton died and his place was taken by his son Sir Henry Philip Hoghton.

At the general election which took place in the following year the Tory party which had been compelled to submit so long to the domination of the Earl of Derby determined to make an effort to throw off the yoke, and put forward as their candidate John Horrocks, the younger of the two surviving sons of John Horrocks of Edgeworth, a member of the Society of Friends, against Lord Stanley and Sir H. P. Hoghton. Horrocks was probably the strongest candidate the Tories could have found, as though he had only been resident in the town about five years, his success in the cotton trade had been so rapid that he already employed a considerable number of workpeople. The corporation, still persistently Tory, was on his side and he had the support of the Manchester Church and King Club. In the event he was defeated though only by a few votes and, as his power and influence were increasing with the extension of his business and the multiplication of his factories, it must have become clear to the Derby family that at the next election they could not hope to retain both the seats. Accordingly through the intervention of Thomas Butterworth Bayley of Hope Hall, near Manchester,[1] a compromise was effected by which one seat was allotted to the Whig or Derby party and the other to the Tory or corporation party. Like some formal treaty of peace concluded between great and hostile powers at the end of a long and exhausting war, this agreement was reduced

1. The great county administrator and chairman of Quarter Sessions. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, III, 445, and Webb, *English Local Government*, I, 366–368.

to writing and ratified by the signatures of plenipotentiaries on both sides.

It must have been a relief to both parties that this long standing quarrel had at length been healed. It had divided the town into two camps and embittered public life for more than half a century. We have seen, for example, how the corporation had penalized the vicar for holding political views of which they disapproved. Their conduct towards the Revd. Robert Oliver, the headmaster of the Grammar School, furnishes us with another instance of the petty persecution which they meted out to those who ventured to disagree with them. Oliver had been appointed on February 18th, 1737, in the place of the Revd. W. Davis, who had resigned on his appointment to a living in Hertfordshire. Eleven years later the town council passed a minute in which it was set forth, 'That the said Mr. Oliver has been for some time past greatly remiss and negligent in the performance of his duty of a School Master in the said school, so that the same is greatly decayed, and has lost the reputation it formerly bore, and many Gentlemen, Tradesmen, principal Inhabitants, and Burgesses of this Town have sent their sons abroad to other Townes and schools for Education. It is therefore the Opinion of this Council that the said Mr. Oliver is very unfit to be Longer continued head master of the said School, and that he ought to be removed and a new one Chosen in his place of head master that will better discharge the duty of the said School, And it is accordingly agreed and so ordered that the Order of the Election of the said Mr. Oliver to be head master of the said School be and is hereby Vacated and Repealed.'[1] It is possible that there was some just cause for complaint as, in addition to being headmaster, Oliver was also vicar of Warton-in-Lonsdale and curate of St. George's Chapel in Preston, and if he endeavoured to fulfil the duties of these two

1. *White Book*, Minute of February 3rd, 1748.

benefices he can scarcely have been able to give his full attention to the welfare of the school. Oliver, however, hotly denied the charge and averred that the real reason for the attempt of the corporation to get rid of him was that he was a Whig, while the members of the council were Tories. We cannot now decide as to the merits of the dispute, but the probability is that Oliver was in the right and the corporation in the wrong, as the latter, though pretending to treat the office of headmaster as vacant, never attempted to enforce their resolution and did not appoint his successor, Mr. Ellis Henry, to the post until after Oliver had sent in his resignation.[1]

The feud also affected private and social intercourse. 'Not merely was the feeling of hostility between the rival competitors for political influence carried into the business of the town, but even into its pleasures, and for six years, from 1786 to 1791, races were held under the auspices of each party, the Corporation races being held on Preston Moor, the Earl of Derby's races, as an opposition meeting, on Fulwood Moor, a lease of which had been obtained from the Duchy of Lancaster. The opposing parties could not even hunt together. There was the Whig or Derbyite pack of hounds and the Tory or Corporation pack; one was called the U. P. (United Preston) pack, the other the P. U. (Preston United) pack. The political differences which divided the town extended even to sedan chairs! The coats of the chairmen had collars of the colour of one or other of the two great parties, and as the ladies were quite as warm in their political sympathies as the rougher sex, they showed their predilections not only in the ribbons they wore, but in the choice of their sedans. A lady of the family of Pedder, or Starkie, or Gorst would have walked home in a thunder storm, before she would have been carried in a Derby or Burgoyne chair, while the wives

1. Fishwick, *History*, 210–211, and *White Book*, Minute of June 10th, 1765.

and daughters of the Shawes, the Hornbys, or the Whiteheads, would have missed going to the best ball of the season, rather than have been taken there in a Corporation sedan.'[1]

Apart from the events which have been already recorded there is little in the history of the town during the eighteenth century that calls for notice, until the introduction of the cotton trade, in the last quarter of it, began to turn Preston from a town which derived its prosperity from its market and its legal business into one of the manufacturing centres of Lancashire. Public improvements were few in number and slow in arriving, but it is necessary that we should mention two that were of considerable importance. The first of these was the provision of a public water supply which was initiated by two private individuals Robert Abbatt, a chapman and a Quaker, and Thomas Kellett, a joiner, who entered into an agreement with the corporation for this purpose on September 26th, 1729, the corporation on their side leasing to them two closes of land close to Avenham Garden at a rent of £4 a year. The water was drawn from Syke Hill and the waste grounds of the town and collected in a cistern at the north-west corner of the present gas-works in Glover Street, which, probably owing to doubts as to the financial success of the scheme, was for many years known as 'The Folly.' It was conveyed through the streets of the town in pipes made of bored trees which supplied a cistern or conduit in the market place. There were taps also in different parts of the town which were visited at certain hours by a man, who, having given notice of his coming by springing a rattle, turned them on with a key, when the inhabitants of the neighbourhood would come with cans to obtain the supply they desired. One of the conditions required that, in addition to these taps, there should be five watercocks or plugs in

1. Dobson, *History of the Parliamentary Representation of Preston*, 53–54.

the main pipes at such places as the mayor should direct for the purpose of extinguishing fires. This supply was supplemented by a number of public wells, which were situate in different parts of the town, the chief of which were Main Sprit well at the bottom of Main Sprit Weind, a well in the lower part of the market place, another in Fishergate, Lady well on the west side of Friargate, and the Goose well just outside the Church Street bars.[1]

The waterworks passed into a variety of different hands and continued to exist for over a century, when the growing requirements of the town made it necessary that a fresh source of supply should be obtained, and in 1832 the Preston Waterworks Company was created by Act of Parliament, which formed a reservoir at Grimsargh and established the nucleus of those large waterworks in that district which are now the property of the Preston corporation.[2]

The other improvement that was made was the erection of a bridge over the Ribble to connect Preston and Penwortham. Before the building of this bridge the only one that spanned the Ribble in the vicinity of the town was the one at Walton-le-dale. Those who wished to go to Penwortham, Ormskirk, Southport or Liverpool had either to cross at Walton-le-dale and fetch a compass until they reached the road, or to make use of the ferry or the fords. This state of things lasted until 1751, when, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, commissioners were appointed, who collected subscriptions for the purpose and built a bridge which was opened to traffic in 1755.[3] Unfortunately the bridge fell about a year afterwards, which necessitated the passing of another Act of Parliament and the obtaining of a sum of £2,000 from the county for the purpose of reconstruction. This

1. For a complete list of the wells of the town, see the map at the end of Hewitson's *Preston Court Leet Records.*

2. Hewitson, *History*, 377–383.

3. The specifications for the masons' work for this bridge are amongst the Kenyon papers. *Kenyon MSS.*, 493.

bridge was erected in 1759 and is still in existence, the fund for its upkeep and repair being obtained from tolls which are occasionally imposed for short periods of time.[1]

In 1761 Preston became possessed of a Free Library. This was, of course, not due to any revolutionary action on the part of the corporation but to the private generosity of an individual, Dr. Richard Shepherd, who was born at Sizergh, near Kendal, but after qualifying as a medical man, came to reside here and lived and carried on his profession at a house in Friargate. He was admitted a freeman of the borough, entered the town council, was made an alderman and filled the office of mayor on two occasions. From the fact that he was also mayor of the 'mock' corporation of Walton-le-dale in 1733, it would seem that he was a Jacobite or, at any rate, a strong Tory. He collected a valuable library which he bequeathed to the corporation for the benefit of the town, together with certain sums of money to pay the salary of a librarian and to make additions to the library. The books now form part—and not the least valuable part—of the Reference department of the Harris Free Library.[2]

In the creation of the great cotton trade which has made the word Lancashire familiar all over the globe, a leading part was taken by a Prestonian. This was Sir Richard Arkwright,[3] who was born on December 23rd, 1732, was subsequently apprenticed to a barber and after serving his time here went to reside and carry on business in Bolton. He married for his second wife a native of

1. Notice has recently been given by the Lancashire County Council of intention to apply to parliament for powers to erect another bridge across the Ribble in a line drawn from the point where Fishergate Hill turns into Broadgate to the foot of Penwortham Hill on the other side of the river.

2. Hewitson, *History*, 294–298. There is a portrait of Dr. Shepherd in the Free Library.

3. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, II, 81–86

Leigh, and while living at Bolton he met a local watchmaker, named John Kay, in conjunction with whom he set to work to devise machinery for spinning by rollers. They secured the financial support of another Prestonian, John Smalley, a liquor merchant, who obtained for their use a back room in the house of the headmaster of the Grammar School situate in Stonygate,[1] where they carried on their experiments, and eventually produced the 'water frame,' which was so called because the motive power was water. About the same time James Hargreaves, a weaver in the neighbouring town of Blackburn, invented the 'spinning jenny,' and ten years later Samuel Crompton combined the principles of Hargreaves' and Arkwright's inventions in his 'mule.' Watt was also perfecting the steam engine and after it had been made available for manufacturing purposes, Cartwright applied it to weaving machinery and patented his 'power loom.' These inventions, which rapidly followed one another, had the effect of transforming the method of manufacturing cotton. Before this time spinning and weaving had been carried on in cottages and farmhouses by the spinning wheel and the handloom and had been a sort of subsidiary industry which enabled women to contribute to the expenses of the home or gave the farmer's household an opportunity of supplementing the income he derived from his farm.[2] Cotton or yarn was distributed by merchants in the towns or over the countryside to be spun or woven and was afterwards collected by them for sale. The introduction of steam and machinery soon made it necessary in the interests of economy of production, that the workpeople should be

1. It afterwards became a public house under the name of the Arkwright Arms : it still retains this name, though the licence has gone and it is now used as a common lodging house. Hewitson, *History*, 162–163.

2. 'In those days (1801—1805) all the small farms in Walton, Penwortham, and the adjoining country places were "weaving farms" having a "shop" attached to hold a certain number of looms.' *Autobiography of Joseph Livesey*, 4.

collected together under one roof and thus there grew up that factory system, which for good or evil is the dominating characteristic of the trade of the county.[1]

The first cotton factory to be established in Preston was built by Messrs. Collinson and Watson in 1777 at the corner of Moor Lane and Warwick Street, on part of the site now occupied by the works of the Preston Gas Company, but no other mill seems to have been built until John Horrocks came to Preston in 1791 and erected that 'Yellow Factory'[2] in Stanley Street, which is still standing and now forms part of the Yard Works. Horrocks shortly afterwards sent for his brother Samuel to join him and, in conjunction with Richard Newsham and Thomas Greaves, a firm was formed which rapidly extended its operations and built five new mills between 1796 and 1802. In the latter year, as a result of the compact which had been formed, Horrocks was returned to parliament with Lord Stanley without any opposition. Two years later he died at the early age of 36, having in the short space of thirteen years established a great industry in Preston, given his name to a firm which is known wherever the products of the county are sold, amassed a considerable fortune and broken down the political influence of the greatest territorial magnate and leading nobleman in Lancashire.[3]

His place in the commercial and political life of the town was taken by his brother, who maintained the prosperity of the firm, which after Mr. Thomas Miller joined it, was known as Horrockses, Miller & Co., and also upheld in the face of considerable opposition the political compromise which had been arranged in 1802

1. The loss of this domestic industry was a great blow to the agricultural population, who were not compensated by the extra opportunities of employment which were offered in the towns. Townsend Warner, *Landmarks in Industrial History*, 292–294.

2. So called because the exterior was yellow washed.

3. He is said to have been consulted by Pitt on commercial matters. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVII, 375.

and lasted until his retirement from parliament in 1826. He was a borough magistrate and a member of the town council, but whatever may have been his merits as an administrator and a business man, he was certainly lacking in his ability to express his views in public. A well known anecdote records that on one occasion a hawker calling out, 'Speech of Mr. Sam. Horrocks in the House of Commons,' found a ready sale for his papers. The purchaser discovered to his disgust that the sheet he had bought was blank and on remonstrating with the vendor that there was 'nowt' in it, received the unanswerable reply, 'Well, he said nowt!'

The introduction of the cotton trade in Preston was assisted or accompanied by a variety of other circumstances which tended to increase its prosperity. In 1776 commercial transactions were aided by the opening of a bank in the town, which after others had made their appearance was generally known as the 'Old Bank,' though it was sometimes referred to as 'Pedder's Bank,' when that family became the proprietors of it. Better and more methods of communication between Preston and other towns were also established. Though Telford and MacAdam did not introduce their improvements in road construction until the opening of the nineteenth century, yet in the latter half of the preceding century much attention was devoted to the making and repairing of roads, as is shown by the fact that it is estimated that 452 Acts for these purposes were passed in the period of 1762–74. Hitherto the best method of travelling had been on horseback, the woman folk riding pillion behind their husbands or brothers;[1] while the prevalence of the 'Sumpter Horse' and the 'Pack Horse' amongst public house signs shows that even the carriage of goods was largely conducted in the same way. In 1771 the first stage coach was established here, and ran between

1. A pillion stone, *i.e.*, a stone with steps cut in it to enable women to mount the horse is still to be seen outside the 'Grey Horse and Seven Stars' public house in Fishergate.

Preston, Wigan and Warrington. This was the forerunner of many others and the number grew so rapidly that it is said that towards the end of 1823, seventy-two arrived at and left Preston every Wednesday and that the number had increased to eighty-one about the middle of 1830.[1] In addition to the building of a bridge over the Ribble at Penwortham, the approach to the town was facilitated by the erection of a new one at Walton-le-dale between 1779 and 1781 and by the making of a broader and better way to it some thirty years later[2] to take the place of the steep and narrow lane which led down to the river at this spot. Fishergate Hill was made easier to ascend, and a more direct road to the north, running across the Moor and called Garstang Road, was constructed and used instead of the somewhat roundabout highway known as Old Lancaster Lane.[3] Further, in 1824 another means of communication with East Lancashire was created by the making of the highway which is even yet known as the Blackburn New Road.[4]

The question of transit was also being solved by the building of canals, which received a great impetus in this country after Brindley had successfully constructed the Bridgewater Canal between Worsley and Manchester in 1759–61. In 1798 a canal was cut between Preston and Lancaster which was subsequently extended as far north as Kendal. Four years later communication by the same method was opened between Bamber Bridge and Wigan, and the two systems were connected by a tramway which ran from Wharf Street, Preston, past Avenham Walks across the Ribble to the Bamber Bridge terminus of the Wigan canal.[5]

1. Hewitson, *History*, 196–197.
2. In 1813. Whittle, *History of Preston*, I, 314.
3. In 1817. Whittle, *History*, I, 318. Hewitson, *History*, 197 and note 2. An Act of Parliament (24 Geo. II, c. xx) to improve the old road had been passed in 1751.
4. Hewitson, *History*, 197.
5. Whittle, *History*, I, 309 : Hewitson, *History*, 198.

After the opening of the railway between Manchester and Liverpool in 1830 public attention was centred on this new means of communication and in 1838 a line was opened between Preston and Wigan. Two years later three separate lines united Preston with Lancaster, Fleetwood and Longridge respectively, and in 1846 by the opening of a line to Bolton, Preston was connected with Manchester. The subsequent extensions and amalgamations of the different systems which ran into the town, were rapid and numerous, but it would be tedious to relate them in detail or to trace the process whereby they have all eventually come into the hands of the London and North Western and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Companies, under whose control the town has become the possessor of one of the largest stations in the kingdom, a great centre for the collection and distribution of merchandise, and one of the most important junctions on the western route to Scotland.

Being situated on the border of a large agricultural district from which the town could obtain cheap food and a plentiful supply of labour, Preston was possessed of considerable advantages over her rivals in the cotton industry, but these were more than neutralized in the long run by the unfortunate circumstance that the town became the industrial cockpit of Lancashire and the scene of bitter and ruinous conflicts between capital and labour, which brought loss to the employers and starvation and suffering to their workpeople. The lot of the first cotton operatives was indeed a hard one. No legislation limited their hours of labour or required that mills and sheds should be clean and wholesome. No distinction was made of sex and age, and women and children worked under the same conditions and for the same hours as men. Attendance at school was not required, and indeed had it been, there would have been no accommodation for the scholars, as with the exception of the Grammar School there were at this time but two schools in the town, one for boys and the other for girls. The personal

relationship which existed between the master workman and his apprentices and journeymen found no place in the factory system, in which a large spinner or manufacturer employed hundreds of 'hands' with whose names and faces he was almost entirely unacquainted. The manufacturers and spinners too were keen and able men, whose race for profits allowed them no time to think of the conditions of their workpeople, who drawn from different parts of the country by this new industry were herded together in the long rows of insanitary cottages, which sprang up like mushrooms at the foot of every factory chimney. All means of improving their lot was denied them by unjust laws which laid down that all combinations for the purpose of increasing their wages were illegal and that those who formed them were guilty of conspiracy.

The first outbreak of discontent occurred in 1808 when the weavers agitated for higher wages and this was followed by similar movements in 1818 and 1821, all of which were unsuccessful. There were riots in other parts of Lancashire in 1826 directed against the introduction of labour saving machinery, but the precautions taken by the employers in fortifying and garrisoning their mills prevented any similar outbreak in Preston.

These occurrences, however, were slight and trivial compared with the struggle which took place in 1836, when the spinners demanded to be paid the same wages as those given at Bolton. The employers stated their willingness to make an advance of ten per cent. and subsequently withdrew the condition they had at first imposed, viz., that those who accepted it should leave their Union. This was rejected and on November 7th 660 spinners struck work and threw out of employment at the same time some 7,840 weavers and other operatives, who were dependent upon them for their yarn. The funds of the union were soon exhausted, yet the strike continued for thirteen weeks before gradual secessions from the ranks of the strikers enabled work to be

carried on at all the mills to the same extent as before. In addition to the distress and suffering which the strike caused, it is estimated that the town and trade of Preston lost through this unavailing struggle the sum of £107,196.

In 1842 repeated reductions of wages had caused great irritation and dissatisfaction amongst the operatives, and large bodies of them paraded the streets storming the factory gates, wrecking watchhouses, 'plug-drawing' and calling upon employers to cease work and turn their employees out. The rioting became so violent that the military were ordered out and an encounter took place between the soldiers and the mob in Lune Street on Saturday, August 13th, in which eight men were shot and five of them so seriously wounded that they died. This sharp lesson put an end to the disturbances.

The greatest and the most disastrous of all these conflicts was the Great Lock-out of 1853,[1] which was conducted with such courage and ability during its long drawn out career, that the eyes of all England were turned to the town where hard-headed and determined Lancashire men fought out their battle until sheer exhaustion on the part of one of the combatants put an end to it. It has often been noted that, for some unknown reason, there occur at varying intervals periods of industrial unrest which affect all or nearly all the trades of the country, and that though each particular industry has its own bone of contention yet the prevalence of disputes is such as almost to suggest an epidemic. Such a year was 1853. Strikes had taken place in many different localities and the success of some of them, notably one at Stockport, seems to have encouraged the

1. The Proprietors of the *Preston Guardian* have in their possession three volumes containing extracts from the newspapers of the day, reports of the operatives' committees and other documents, which together give a complete record of the dispute and which I have been courteously allowed to consult.

Preston operatives to formulate their demands, which were for a ten per cent. increase in their wages and an equalization of prices. It was alleged on their behalf that in 1847 they had submitted to a reduction of ten per cent. when trade was bad, on the understanding or promise that their wages should be increased by that amount when trade was good, and though the masters denied having made such a promise it is admitted by their apologist that the reduction had been made under circumstances which virtually implied one.[1] The other demand was for the equalization of the rates of wages paid to workpeople engaged in the same departments of the different mills in the town, or, to put it in other words, for the establishment of a standard minimum wage. From the operatives' standpoint the latter was, doubtless, a most desirable reform, but it was not regarded as nearly so urgent or important as the increase of ten per cent. in wages, and as the controversy proceeded less and less was heard of it. The large majority of the employers agreed to grant the increase, but four or five firms refused, alleging that they already paid the highest wages for their respective qualities of work in the town. It was decided accordingly to 'strike' the mills of those who stood out, to which the masters replied by ordering a general 'lock-out.' The preliminaries occupied some two or three months, commencing with meetings on a waste piece of land known as the Orchard, the site of the present covered market, and ending with the gradual closing of the mills which was finally accomplished early in October.

The conduct of the strike was in the hands of two separate committees, one representing the power-loom weavers and the other the spinners, but there were in addition a number of delegates from different towns, who not only brought money to support the strikers and their families but by their speeches—delivered in the Lanca-

1. Ashworth, *The Preston Strike*, 9.

shire dialect, for they were not men of education—put forward the case of operatives in such a way as to excite a great deal of sympathy in the minds of the public, and at the same time inspired their audiences with a belief in the justice of their cause and gave them energy and resolution to carry on the fight.

There were some dozen or so of these men, but the two most prominent were George Cowell, a Prestonian, and Mortimer Grimshaw, who came from Great Harwood. Mr. Charles Hardwick called them the Bright and the Cobden of the movement, and they seem to have almost deserved the honour which such a comparison involves. The same observer, who was certainly not prejudiced in favour of their cause, gives the following description of them :—

'Cowell was generally calm and logical in his style of address. After all, he appealed more to the intellect and judgment of his audience, such as it was, than to their passions. His very manner and conduct bore the impress of sincerity. I have conversed with men opposed to him in opinion upon this subject, who have cheerfully acknowledged their belief in his general integrity of purpose. Cowell is a Preston weaver; yet, though I am a native, and pretty well known to the working classes of the town, I never heard of such a man before the commencement of the strike! Indeed had Cowell been merely a "professional agitator" or "spouting demagogue,' the struggle could not have lasted half the time it did. . . . George Cowell is rather below the middle height. His forehead is ample and the expression of his countenance thoughtful and benevolent. He is a man of very limited scholastic education, but he appears to possess calm, steady resolution, coupled with a powerful and somewhat active brain. With early cultivation, he would doubtless have distinguished himself in a more "respectable" arena than the one generally occupied by the "stump orator." . . . Mortimer Grimshaw is a bigger man, very much marked

with the small-pox. He was well known by his white hat, which, I suppose, he wore after the fashion of Hunt and Cobbett, to indicate the depth of his "Radical propensities." As John Bright plants his elevated fist firmly in advance, whilst eloquently expounding the doctrines of the Peace Society, so Mortimer Grimshaw advocates liberty to the oppressed "factory slaves" with a dogmatical invective and a blatant vituperation more worthy of a Russian despot than an English patriot. I do not assert that he is insincere. Maliciously impugning an adversary's motives is the height of folly to my mind and the worst of all arguments. He appears to me to be an enthusiast, and that the warmth of his feelings, when excited, overpowers his judgment.'[1]

If the delegates indulged in violent language their conduct is explained, if not excused, by the attitude adopted by the press, which, generally speaking, supported the masters. Of the three local papers *The Preston Guardian* alone was on the side of the operatives, but its somewhat lukewarm advocacy of their cause was more than counterbalanced by the attacks which were made on them by *The Preston Pilot* and *The Preston Chronicle*. The last named paper, which was owned by Mr. Lawrence Dobson,[2] lectured the operatives week by week in the manner of 'the superior person' and blandly informed men, who saw their wives and families suffering semi-starvation, that all their efforts to increase their wages

1. *Eliza Cook's Journal*, August, 1854.

2. Mr. Dobson was also a tea dealer and had as a partner in both concerns Mr. Isaac Wilcockson, who, with the Rev. Father Dunne, helped to found the Preston Gas Light Company. He was the father of Mr. William Dobson, the author of several works on the history of Preston, which have often been quoted in these pages. The newspaper was subsequently acquired by Mr. Hewitson, the author of a *History of Preston*, and several publications dealing with the town. After dissolving partnership with Mr. Wilcockson, Mr. Dobson took as a partner in the tea business, Mr. William Clemesha, the grandfather of the present writer.

were foredoomed to failure as being opposed to the laws of political economy! With our added knowledge of this science and our increased experience, we now know that these so-called laws, which were placed on the same level as the law of gravitation and treated as something sacred and immutable, were simply false conclusions drawn from a false premise. Briefly the argument was as follows. There is a certain limited fund which exists for the payment of wages, which are regulated by the law of supply and demand. If by the pressure of Trade Unions or some other cause, certain workpeople interfere with the working of this law and obtain an increase, that increase is acquired at the expense of others of their class who will suffer accordingly. The operatives of Preston by trying to force wages up beyond what the employers were prepared to pay were simply diminishing the sums which would be paid elsewhere.[1]

In a slightly different form the same argument appears in the letter which Lord Palmerston sent in reply to a memorial which had been forwarded to him. After stating that he did not possess any right or power to interfere in the matter, his lordship went on to tell the workpeople that they must be well aware that, labour being 'a commodity like any other, its money value in the market must be regulated by the same general principles which govern the price of other commodities and that among these governing principles the most influential are the cost of production and the relative proportions of demand and supply. The cost of production, in regard to labour, means the price of the necessaries of life, and the proportion of demand and supply must depend very much upon the periodical fluctuations of trade. It is greatly to be wished that both the working men and their employers would allow these general causes to act silently and gradually in equitably adjusting, from time to time, the proper rates of the money

1. This is known as the Wage Fund Theory, see Walker, *The Wages Question*, Chapter IX.

reward for labour; and it is scarcely to be doubted that by forbearance on both sides, and by mutual and reciprocal good feeling, these arrangements might generally be effected without a recourse to such injurious methods as strikes and lock-outs.' On the whole very much the sort of reply one might have expected from a politician of Lord Palmerston's type!

But this struggle attracted the attention of a greater even that the future Prime Minister of England and brought to the town a man, who never saw suffering without sympathising with it and who would have scorned to offer to men and women, whose stomachs were empty of food but whose hearts were full of a bitter sense of oppression, the 'Dead Sea fruit' of political economy. Charles Dickens visited Preston at the beginning of February, 1854, when the strike had lasted nearly four months, and wrote a characteristic article in *Household Words*,[1] in which he set forth the wonderful way in which the uneducated factory hands were carrying on this great industrial war. He attended one of the meetings which were held every Sunday at the Cockpit at which the contributions from other towns were received, and described the orderly, businesslike methods with which the proceedings were conducted. It has been estimated that the sum of £97,000 was contributed to the support of the operatives during the thirty-eight weeks during which the strike lasted, and though there were the usual suggestions that the delegates were making a 'good thing' out of the strike, it was never charged against them that these funds were misappropriated or that the accounts, which were published week by week, were falsified. It was the eventual tapping of this source of supply by the outbreak of a strike at Stockport that brought the dispute to a close. Other methods of terminating it had been tried by the masters. Under the pretence that the meetings that were held nearly

1. In the issue for February 11th, 1854

every afternoon in the Orchard were likely to provoke rioting and a breach of the peace they succeeded in obtaining on March 3rd, 1854, a prohibition of all public meetings in the borough. This device failed, as the operatives and their supporters simply crossed the Ribble at Walton-le-dale and continued to hold their meetings with unabated vigour on a stretch of gravel, still to be seen in that part of the bed of the river which is close to the further bank. About a fortnight afterwards the employers caused proceedings to be instituted against twelve delegates for conspiring to induce certain persons to depart from their hiring. They also imported persons from a distance to take the place of the strikers, and a number of the Irish who are now in the town are the children of parents who came to Preston in 1854.

The distress that prevailed at this time can better be imagined than described, but it was not until May 16th, 1854, when some of the mills had obtained enough hands to enable them to commence work and when it was obvious that no more help could be expected from other towns, that the spinners announced their retirement from the fight and the Great Lock-out collapsed. With the exception of a few offences of intimidation and assault committed by certain of the strikers, the whole of the long dispute was conducted in a manner which reflected the highest credit on both parties to it, and produced the following comment in the *Times*[1] :—'There is no nation in the world in which a spectacle could have been exhibited of such unflinching fortitude, combined with such unwearied forbearance. For eight long months together thousands of men have endured privations little short of famine, have repeatedly assembled in large bodies for the consideration of what they believed their wrongs, and have seen their opponents at first unyielding and at last successful, without the smallest disturbance of the public peace or alarm to the public mind. In any other country such a contest would have produced a

1. In the issue of May 3rd, 1854.

small civil war and would have absorbed the services of a dozen battalions. In Preston the one regiment constituting the force of the district was not only never called upon to act, but was promptly withdrawn for embarkation for Turkey, and was followed out of the town by the hearty cheers of the workpeople. It is impossible to speak too highly of conduct like this, and we sincerely trust that men who are endowed with such good sense, and capable of such self-control, may not only forego the folly of 'strikes' but may receive in return from their employers the consideration they deserve.'

The next period of distress which the town endured was suffered in common with the rest of Lancashire. The Cotton Famine which commenced about the end of 1861 and continued until nearly the middle of 1865 was caused by the civil war which was waged between the Northern and the Southern States of America and the consequent blockade of the ports from which the raw material of our staple trade was exported. According to Edwin Waugh there was hardly any place in Lancashire that suffered so much as Preston, the reason being that with the exception of three flax mills and two or three ironworks, of no great extent, the town was entirely dependent upon the cotton trade.[1] Great efforts were made both locally and nationally to relieve the poverty and distress. Large sums of money were raised by subscriptions for distribution throughout the distressed county and Relief Committees supplemented the assistance given by the Guardians. Work was found in Preston for the out-of-work cotton operatives in stone breaking, in carrying out sewerage schemes and in levelling part of the Moor, and though the rates of pay were undoubtedly small they were probably not much beneath the value of the work performed by such unaccustomed hands. The 'famine' was at its worst towards the end of 1862, the time when the recurring celebration of the

1. Waugh, *Home-Life of the Lancashire Factory Folk during the Cotton Famine*, 25.

Gild Merchant was due. It was decided to carry on the festival as usual, and at the close of it the profits, amounting to the sum of £704, were handed over to the Relief Committee. It was surely some prophetic instinct that led the burgesses in ancient days to lay down that it should be lawful to hold a Gild once in every twenty years or whenever there was any distress that belonged to their franchise![1] In ways like these the people of Lancashire were helped to pass through those dark days and to endure the sufferings and hardships which they bore with a patience and a fortitude that excited the admiration of their fellow countrymen.

There was another dispute in 1869 over a change in the method of payment which amounted to a reduction of wages and led to a strike from which the weavers soon retired but which the spinners conducted for several months with some spirit, even going so far as to start an emigration scheme. It was not, however, comparable in violence and bitterness to the strike or lock-out of 1878 in which Preston took part with the rest of North and North East Lancashire. The trade was depressed and the employers decided to reduce wages by ten per cent.: the workpeople protested against a reduction and urged that short time should be worked. As a general strike throughout the district could not have been maintained for any length of time, the operatives decided to try to reduce the masters to submission by striking one district at a time, commencing with Blackburn. When the employers refused to be attacked and defeated in detail and ordered a general lock-out there was a great show of indignation amongst the operatives, who maintained that they were refused work when willing to perform it.[2]

1. See the Orders of 1328, ante, 71.

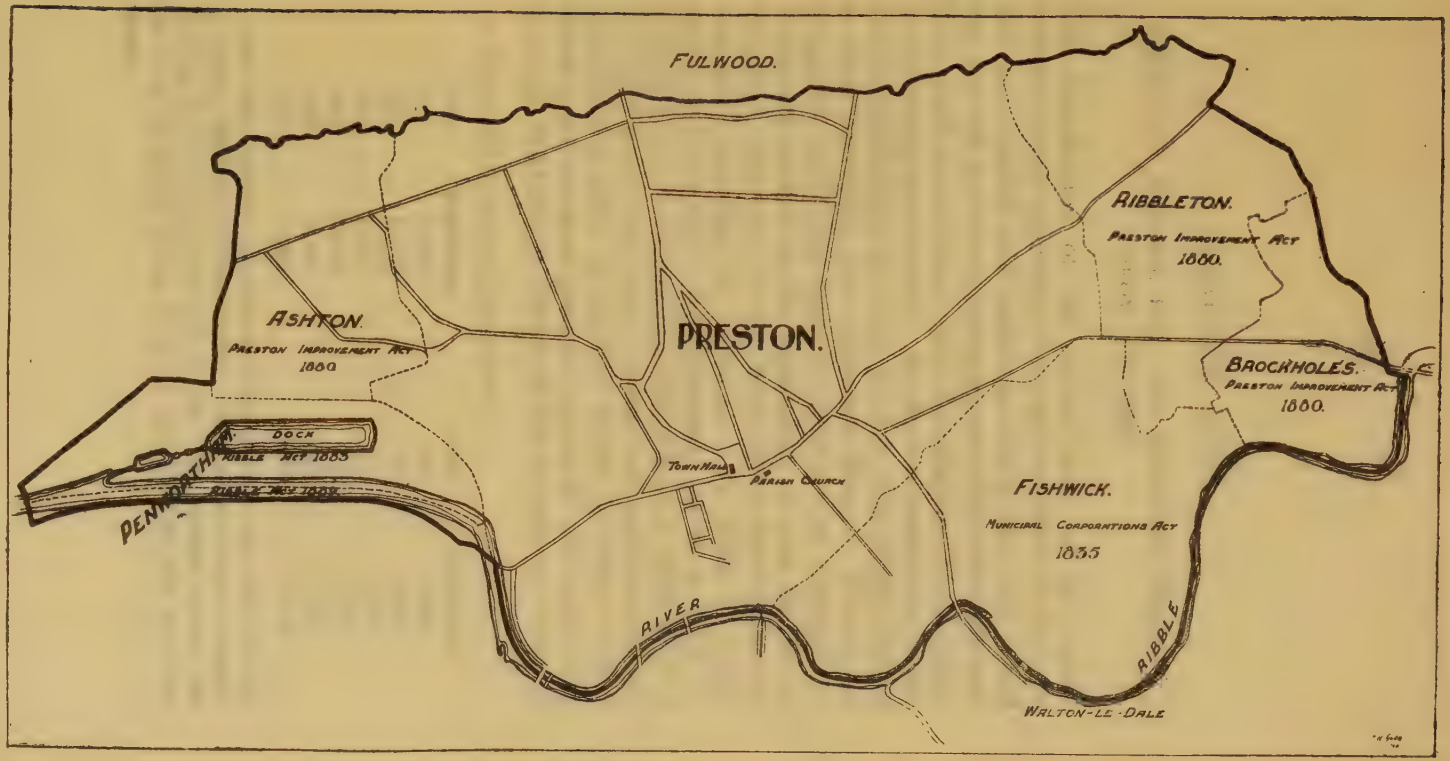
2. That this was the plan of campaign was practically admitted by Thomas Banks in his pamphlet, *A short sketch of the Cotton Trade of Preston for the last 67 years*, which is written by an operative from the operatives' point of view. The employers can scarcely be blamed for not playing the operatives' game, yet their conduct is described as 'harsh and tyrannical' and 'an act of coercion.'

The lock-out notices expired on May 8th and during the following week there was rioting at Blackburn, Haslingden and Burnley. In Preston the excitement reached its height on Friday, May 17th, when disorderly mobs paraded the streets breaking windows. Special constables were sworn in, the military were called out and the Riot Act was read in the streets by the mayor. Though the week-end was a very anxious time for the authorities as well as for the employers, many of whose houses were guarded, the precautions turned out to be adequate and no serious damage was done. The dispute came to a conclusion at the end of June, when work was resumed on the employers' terms.

Since this time there has not been any local dispute of any magnitude, and such is the excellent organization of the trade that it does not seem likely that the town will ever again be the scene of such a calamitous occurrence as that which will make the winter of 1853 and 1854 ever memorable. If a great strike or lock-out has again to be suffered in Preston, it will in all probability not be borne alone but will be part of an industrial war that will spread its ravages over a district or even through the whole of the county. One reason why we may hope that such a disaster will be avoided is that the cotton industry is very highly organized and excellent machinery exists for dealing with such differences as may arise. In times past Trade Unions were regarded by employers with suspicion and distrust: at the present day they are almost looked upon as the guardians of industrial peace. Though strikes and lock-outs are still threatened, yet the existence of these bodies, served by able permanent officials, acts in some sort as a guarantee that the trade shall not be deranged through the action of irresponsible individuals or because of some trifling misunderstanding that a conference might remove.[1]

1. This was written before the recent lock-out of December, 1911, and January, 1912, in North and North East Lancashire, but nothing occurred during the course of it to induce the writer to modify the opinions expressed above.

The prevalence of disputes in the old days, however, gave Preston a bad name and, it is believed, deterred manufacturers and spinners from coming here to erect their mills and sheds, and when that feeling had died away the rapid increase in the rates, owing to the heavy expenditure on the Ribble Scheme, probably acted in a similar way. In one respect the town is more fortunate than others, in that the trade is a mixed one. Though the operatives are chiefly engaged in weaving, the number of spinning mills is increasing: both plain and fancy cloths are manufactured here and the town supplies both the home and the foreign market. As there is very seldom depression in both branches and in all departments of the industry at the same moment, unemployment and short time do not affect the inhabitants so severely as they do those of towns where the trade is of a more uniform type.



PRESTON: EXTENSIONS OF BOUNDARIES.

APPALOOSA : EXTENSIONS OF BOUNDARIES

CHAPTER VIII.

Municipal Reform, etc., and Political History from A.D. 1800.

The introduction of the cotton trade led to a great increase in the population[1] and an extension of the area that was covered with buildings, and it was soon found that the old governing arrangements that were sufficient for a small market town were not adequate for the needs of a growing community. At the commencement of the nineteenth century the town council, like similar bodies in other boroughs, had fallen into decay. This is not altogether surprising when we consider its constitution. It was not elected by the inhabitants or even by the in-burgesses, but was a 'close' body which filled up vacancies in its numbers by co-option. In order to obtain access to its ranks it was necessary to be a Gild in-burgess, *i.e.*, an in-burgess admitted at a celebration of the Gild and not by copy of court roll, and also to have occupied the office of mayor's bailiff or town's bailiff, which positions were generally given by the mayor elect to young relations or friends of his in order to confer the

1. The census returns are given below :—

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1801	11,887	1861	82,985
1811	17,065	1871	85,427
1821	24,627	1881	96,532
1831	33,112	1891	107,573
1841	50,829	1901	112,982
1851	69,361	1911	117,113

After 1835 Fishwick was included in the borough and after 1880 parts of Ashton, Ribbleton and Brockholes. The greatest increase in population was in the two decades 1831 to 1851 : the smallest between 1861 and 1871, the period during which the town suffered from the cotton famine.

necessary qualification. According to the second charter of Charles II, which was the governing charter of the borough, the mayor, the town's bailiff and the town's sergeant were to be appointed by a body of twenty-four chosen by two eleisors, but the practice differed widely from the theory, as the appointment of the twenty-four was a mere matter of form, and the decision as to who should hold these offices was always determined by the mayor and the aldermen. In fact, the eleisors were generally the same persons year by year, and it is said that the names of the twenty-four were sometimes agreed upon before the appointment of the eleisors who were supposed to select them. An order of the Gild of 1742 required that the mayor should always be an alderman and it had become the practice that this office should be held by members of this body in rotation according to seniority, an exception being made, however, in the case of a newly made alderman, who became mayor in the year following his appointment. A council so constituted was probably quite suited for the government of a small provincial town in bygone days, but its continued existence became an affront to people, who had passed through a century remarkable for its cold, detached criticism of all institutions and theories and had recently seen, across the Channel, that astounding upheaval of popular opinion which is known as the French Revolution. A further weakness lay in the fact that this unrepresentative oligarchy was and had been for a large number of years Tory in politics and probably did not contain a single Dissenter or Roman Catholic. Until 1826 it interfered in parliamentary elections to support the Tory candidates and incurred a large debt in the process, which it borrowed from its own members upon the security of the corporate property. This property was of considerable extent and its existence seems to furnish almost the sole reason for the existence of the council, whose main function was to act as trustee of it. Apart from entries of the appointment of a councillor to

be an alderman or of a burgess to be a councillor and the records of the admission of persons to the freedom of the borough, the minute books of the period contain little else but narratives of the transfer of mortgages of the town's estate. We never read of any assessment being made or any rate being levied for town's purposes. It may be that, forgetful of the fact that if in-burgesses had certain privileges they had also certain responsibilities, amongst which was that of paying 'scot,' the corporation had doubts as to their power to levy a rate, but whether that was so or not, in the absence of any record of their exercising this power,[1] we are compelled to assume that any extraordinary expenditure or any deficit in the year's accounts was met by the bad but simple expedient of borrowing. A receiver of the income and receipts from the property was appointed and the bailiffs acted as treasurers, making the necessary disbursements and presenting the annual accounts. The latter were also the officials through whom the corporation acted and were responsible for the performance of a variety of duties, but as their accounts were never published and are never even mentioned in the minutes, we have no record of their activities and we are not able to say how they performed their work. It is satisfactory, however, to observe in this connection that when the commissioners to inquire into municipal corporations came to Preston in 1833, they were able to report that the members had not followed the practice of other councils and alienated portions of the town's estate.[2]

While the town council continued to recruit its ranks and to fill up vacancies by a process of co-option, it had

1. Mr. Hewitson, whose extracts from the *White Book* have already been mentioned, informs me that he has never met with any minute recording the imposition of a rate by the old town council.

2. *Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales*, Part III, 1693.

begun to throw open admission to the freedom to all who applied for it. The commissioners attributed this to the fact that the payment of the principal or great tolls had been resisted and that they were not enforced,[1] but probably another cause which had equal force was that, since the repeated decisions of the House of Commons that all the inhabitants had voices in the election of members of parliament, there was no longer any political reason for limiting the grant. At all events the commissioners reported in 1833 that the practice of selling the freedom had ceased and that no instance of a sum having been given for it had occurred since the Gild of 1822, while a perusal of the minute books of the corporation shows that even before that date admission by court roll had been conferred gratis for a number of years.

The contrast between the progressive increase in the number of burgesses and the stationary character of the town council probably had something to do with the decline in its power, though it may be attributed to other causes which prevailed throughout the whole of the country. The chief of these was one which has already been referred to in connection with the history of the local Court Leet, namely, the increase in the powers of the justices of the peace. The county justices were the favourites of the parliaments of the eighteenth century. Statute after statute was passed by which new duties were thrown upon them, which were to be performed either singly or in conjunction with one of their fellows, or in petty, special, or quarter sessions. In a previous chapter we have given some indication of the variety and extent of their activities, which were not confined to the mere trying and sentencing of the prisoners who were brought before them but involved a large amount of administrative work also. As there was practically no distinction between the county justice, who was appointed by a commission from the king, and the borough justice who

1. *Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales*, Part III, 1693, and cf. Whittle, *History*, II, 123.

held his office under the provisions of a charter, the statutes which magnified one exalted the other also. It is very probable, therefore, though we have not met with any records of the work transacted by the borough justices of Preston, that it had very much increased in volume and had trenched upon that which had been previously performed by the town council, in much the same way that their sessions of the peace had come to be preferred to those of the old manorial Court Leet as a method of dealing with the smaller offences.[1]

In Preston the mayor, the ex-mayor, the senior alderman and the recorder were the persons designated by the second charter of Charles II as justices of the peace for the borough[2] and constituted the court of Quarter Sessions which was regularly held, though as Preston was the place to which the Quarter Sessions of the county were adjourned from Lancaster, prisoners were generally committed to the latter tribunal for trial.[3] They were the body who granted the licences for inns and refreshment houses and we hear of complaints of their partiality to the corporation which owned several of them. They also appointed the supervisors of the highways, who were apparently responsible for the paving and repairing of all the streets, except so much of Friargate, Fishergate and Church Street as lay within the bars, for which the bailiffs were accountable. Complaints as to the repair or lack of repair of these streets, therefore, would be made to them and if they did not levy a special rate for this purpose they probably included it in the poor rate, which they sanctioned on the application of the overseers of the poor.[4] In 1833 each of the nine townships com-

1. Webb, *English Local Government*, II, 385 and note.

2. Abram, *Memorials*, 69.

3. *Appendix, Municipal Corporations Report*, Part III, 1691.

4. The earliest record of the assessment of the town for the poor rate is contained in a beautifully written book, preserved in the town hall, entitled '*A regulation of the Poor Tax of the Burrough of Preston in the County of Lancaster in the year 1732. By the order of Sir*

prised in the parish of Preston supported its own poor separately.[1] Up to 1747 the 'Four and Twenty' gentlemen, who constituted the Select Vestry, appointed, or rather nominated, the overseers,[2] but after that date no mention of them occurs at the vestry meetings and we are left to suppose that their appointment had been taken altogether into the hands of the justices to whom it really belonged. Here, at any rate, are three important branches of public work which were controlled by the justices and there is little doubt that, if we knew more about them, we should find them also interfering in matters which we should have considered to come within the purview of the council.

This decrease in the activities of the town council, accompanied as it was by a corresponding increase in those of the justices, led to two important events, namely, the appointment of a new statutory body to perform the duty of paving, lighting and policing the town and an increase in the numbers of the borough justices. In 1815 a private Act of Parliament[3] was obtained which created a body of Improvement Commissioners for the borough. The constitution of this body was scarcely more democratic than that of the council, as its members were not elected but simply owed their right to be commissioners to the possession of a certain property qualification, which was fixed at the ownership of lands or hereditaments worth £100 a year or the tenancy of

1. *Appendix, Municipal Corporations Report,* Part III, 1683.

2. Houghton, *The Present Position of the Select Vestry of Preston: its powers and duties,* 8.

3. 55 Geo., III, c. xxii.

Edward Stanley, Bart., Mayor, and Edmund Assheton, Esq., Senior Alderman of the Burrough.' The monthly rate was levied at 1d. in the £ on 9/10ths of the yearly rent of land and ½d. in the £ on 4/5ths of the yearly rent of housing, while there was also a rate upon personalty. The total annual rent of land is set down at £2,177. 6s. 7d. and of houses at £5,001. 16s. 0d.

property worth £50 a year. Anyone who had the requisite qualification and took the prescribed oaths was entitled to act. They were given power to repair and pave the streets both public and private, and they were also to repair those which had formerly been repaired by the corporation on the latter paying them the sum of £80 a year. They were authorized also to light the streets, to purchase fire engines and to appoint firemen and watchmen and were constituted the licensing authority for all vehicles. For the purpose of the Act they were allowed to purchase land not exceeding half an acre in extent, and to borrow up to £10,000. In addition they were empowered to levy upon occupiers a lighting and watching rate and a paving rate, and to appoint a treasurer, a clerk, an assessor, a collector and a surveyor.

A considerable number of persons took the oaths required to enable them to become commissioners and the new body at once became very active. Various officials were appointed, an assessment ordered to be made and shortly afterwards a lighting and watching rate of 1/- in the £ and a paving rate of 3d. in the £ were levied. The difference between the amount of the two rates was mainly due to the decision of the commissioners to avail themselves of the services of the Preston Gas Light Company, which was formed in the same year, and to light the town with gas, Preston being the first town outside London to adopt this illuminant for the streets.[1] The commissioners seem to have done the work entrusted to them in a satisfactory manner[2] and having

1. Hewitson, *History*, 268. The popularization of gas for this purpose was chiefly due to the efforts of a German, Frederick Albert Winzer, who obtained a charter for the London Gaslight and Coke Co. in 1810. Ashton, *The dawn of the nineteenth century in England*, 204–207.

2. Mr. Joseph Livesey, the temperance reformer, was a commissioner at one time. He relates that every Thursday the general committee had a tour of inspection of the town, and criticizes the commissioners as being afraid of incurring expense, but naively admits that he would have incurred more than was justifiable. *Autobiography*, 28.

survived the reform of the corporation in 1835 they continued to exist until 1850, when the Public Health Act of 1848 was applied to the borough and their powers were transferred to the town council.[1]

The increase in the number of borough justices was accomplished in 1828 by the grant of another charter to the borough. After reciting that it has been represented to the king that Preston had become a great trading and manufacturing town and that its population had increased during thirty years from 6,000 to some 30,000 persons, so that the number of existing magistrates was insufficient for the needs of the borough, His Majesty declared that all the aldermen should be borough justices. The charter also increased the number of coroners to three by conferring that office upon the senior alderman as well as upon the mayor and his predecessor, but with that exception no alteration was made in the franchises and privileges of the burgesses, all of which were confirmed to them.

In the same year that Preston received its last charter an important Act was passed,[2] which by repealing the Corporation and Test Acts and substituting for the oaths, which were formerly required, a mere declaration of allegiance, threw open municipal offices to Dissenters and Roman Catholics. Four years later, after the measure had been more than once rejected by the House of Lords at the dictation of Lord Eldon, the Tory Lord Chancellor, an Act was passed which prohibited the application of corporate property for the purposes of parliamentary elections.[3] But these instalments of reform could not save the corporations from the growing hostility which was being generally displayed to them

1. By 13 and 14 Vict., c. 90, confirming a provisional order for the purpose.

2. 9 Geo., IV, c. 17.

3. 2 and 3 Will., IV, c. 69.

and though the attention of parliament was for the time occupied by the Reform Bill, as soon as that was carried and the new House of Commons assembled, it proceeded to grapple with the problem.[1] Commissioners visited between two and three hundred boroughs upon which they prepared reports. The report on Preston has already been referred to, and it is satisfactory to observe that the government of the town was free from the grosser abuses which existed in so many boroughs. The use of the town's property to support the Tory candidates seems to have been the worst of their offences, but the debt which had been thus created was amply secured and was being diminished, and though much of the money owing had been borrowed from members of the council the interest they received was at the moderate rate of four per cent. The real charge against the corporation of Preston was not so much that it was corrupt as that it was effete and had ceased to be the real governing body of the borough.

Under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835[2] the title of the corporation was changed from that of the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough of Preston to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the same place and the bailiffs, who had had a continuous existence from the days of the Custumal, disappeared from our history. The old council had consisted of eight aldermen, (one of whom was mayor) and seventeen capital burgesses or councillors: the new council was composed of twelve aldermen and thirty-six councillors, the mayor being selected from either body. The township of Fishwick, which was separated from Preston by the Swillbrook,

1. Webb, *English Local Government*, III, 705-709. On August 8th, 1835, a public meeting in support of the Municipal Corporations Bill was held in Preston in Chadwick's Orchard (the site of the covered market) and an address to Lord Melbourne was agreed to, signed by 6,000 persons, and sent to London. Whittle, *History*, II, 154.

2. 5 and 6 Will., IV, c. 76.

was added to the borough,[1] which was divided into six wards—Christ Church, St. George's, St. Peter's, Trinity, St. John's and Fishwick—each of which returned six members to act as councillors. Of the councillors, who were elected to serve for three years, two retired annually in rotation from each ward, but were eligible for re-election. The aldermen were appionted for six years and might be chosen from the ranks of the councillors or selected by them from the burgesses. Half of them retired at the end of three years' service, but, like the councillors, they were eligible for re-appointment. The elections for the council took place annually on November 9th. Though the boundaries of the borough have since been extended and the wards increased to twelve, returning three members each, the mode of election and the numbers of the councillors and aldermen have suffered no change down to the present day.[2]

One of the first acts of the reformed corporation was to order its stock of wine to be sold and as a consequence the funds of the borough benefited to the extent of £226. 3s. 7½d.[3] This was very possibly due to the initiative of Joseph Livesey, who was one of the councillors for St. John's Ward, and whose work in the temperance movement and in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws cannot be passed over in any history of Preston. The first Temperance Society was established

1. By Section 35 of the Boundaries Act, 1832 (2 and 3 Will., IV, c. 64) Fishwick had been included in the borough for the purpose of parliamentary elections : by Section 7 of the Municipal Corporations Act it was enacted that the boundaries for the purpose of that Act should be the same as those set out in the Boundaries Act.

2. By the Preston Improvement Act, 1880 (43 and 44 Vict., c. cxviii), the boundaries of the borough were extended to include parts of Ashton, Ribbleton and Brockholes and the areas of the wards were altered. The division into twelve wards was carried out under the provisions of the Preston Corporation Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Vict., c. cxlv).

3. Hewitson, *History*, 66, and Account Book now in the borough treasurer's office.

in Preston on March 22nd, 1832, on what was then known as the 'moderation' principle, whereby the members pledged themselves to abstain from distilled liquors and to use fermented liquors in moderation only. Shortly after the foundation of the society Mr. Livesey convened a meeting which was held on September 1st, 1832, at the Cockpit, the headquarters of the society, to discuss the respective merits of total abstinence and moderation. At the close of the meeting seven of those who had been present signed the following pledge, which had been drawn up by Mr. Livesey, 'We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine or ardent spirits, except as medicine.' Several of those who later became prominent in the cause were absent from this meeting, amongst them Edward Grubb, the orator of the movement, Thomas Swindlehurst, a reformed drunkard and an enthusiastic speaker, 'Dicky' Turner, who coined the word 'teetotal,' and James Teare, who subsequently toured the country in support of teetotal principles. Their absence was unfortunate, because while history has preserved the names of John Gratrix, Edward Dickinson, John Broadbelt, John Smith, Joseph Livesey, David Anderton and John King and conferred upon them the title of the 'Seven men of Preston,' there is some danger of overlooking the part which was taken by those whom we have mentioned and others whom we might name. However, the main portion of the credit for the success of the movement may be fairly attributed to Mr. Livesey, who was a man of untiring energy and great business ability and supported the cause during the whole of a lengthy life by his purse, his voice, and his pen.[1]

The systematic agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws dates from the year 1838 when the Anti-Corn Law League was formed in Manchester. These laws had

1. Pearce, *Life and Teachings of Joseph Livesey*, lxxiii–xcii; *Autobiography of Joseph Livesey*, 63–66; Hewitson, *History*, 226–230.

been first imposed in 1815, at the close of the war with France, in order to protect the landed interest from a fall in prices by preventing the importation of corn from the continent. Under the Act of that year the importation of wheat was prohibited until the price was 80/- a quarter.[1] By subsequent Acts the limit was first reduced and afterwards abolished and a sliding scale adopted. The net result of this legislation was to cause prices to fluctuate violently, while in those years in which the harvest failed no relief was obtained until the people had suffered the worst effects of the dearth.[2] Mr. Livesey joined the League and for some years acted as honorary secretary of the Preston branch. He spoke in support of Anti-Corn Law candidates[3] and formed one of a deputation to Sir Robert Peel on the subject, but the most important assistance which he rendered to the cause was by the publication of a paper called *The Struggle*. This curious little weekly was first published in December, 1841, and was continued until the repeal was accomplished in June, 1846, 235 numbers being issued. It was sold for a halfpenny and consisted of four quarto sheets, the first of which was generally illustrated with a somewhat crudely drawn woodcut, while the rest contained short, simple articles and arguments which every reader could understand. In 1844 Mr. Livesey produced the first number of *The Preston Guardian*, which also lent assistance to the cause, though it was not, like *The Struggle*, solely devoted to this object. In addition, he forwarded a movement which had for its purpose the increase of Free Trade voters in the counties by the purchase of freeholds, and he states that he helped to

1. A petition against the Bill was prepared in Preston and lay at the town hall for signature. Whittle, *History*, I, 316.

2. Armitage Smith, *The Free Trade Movement*, 56–57.

3. Cobden addressed a public meeting in the Preston Theatre on March 7th, 1844 (Pearce, *Life and Teachings of Joseph Livesey*, lxxii), and he and Bright spoke at a Great Free Trade demonstration in the town on November 19th, 1845. Hewitson, *History*, 554.

purchase £17,600 worth of freeholds in Preston. This method of creating 'faggot voters' was also applied to Fulwood, where a large plot of land, known as Fulwood Park, and situate between Eaves Brook, the borough boundary, and Watling Street Road, was acquired and sold off in lots to purchasers.[1] As is well known the repeal of the Corn Laws was eventually accomplished in a Conservative administration by Sir Robert Peel, whose work as a statesman and whose services to his country have been recognized in Preston by the erection of a monument to him in Winckley Square.[2]

Amongst the changes introduced by the Municipal Corporation Act 1835 was the abolition of the method of making justices which had been authorized by the charter of George IV and the handing over of this power, so far as Lancashire boroughs were concerned, to the Chancellor of the Duchy. In the previous year an Act had been passed to amend the Poor Laws,[3] and by virtue of its provisions the duties which these justices had exercised as the Poor Law authority for the borough were transferred to the Boards of Guardians constituted by the Act. This Act, which met with considerable opposition in Preston,[4] also enabled several districts to group themselves together in 'unions' for the relief of the poor, and the Preston Union, which was formed early in 1837, comprises 27 townships in addition to the borough. The old workhouse which had been built between 1674 and 1679[5] had been replaced by another erected on Preston Moor in 1788 and this, together with four others at Ribchester, Woodplumpton, Bamber Bridge and Penwortham, were taken over and maintained by the

1. Hewitson, *Northward*, 5–6.
2. It was executed by a local sculptor, Thomas Duckett, at a cost of about £620, which was raised by public subscriptions. Hewitson, *History*, 394.
3. 4 and 5 Will., IV, c. 76.
4. *Autobiography of Joseph Livesey*, 37–39.
5. See ante, 180 n. 4.

Guardians until 1864, when it was decided to abandon all, except the one at Ribchester, and to build an establishment for the whole of the Union area. The new building, which was erected at Fulwood, was opened on December 29th, 1868.[1]

It is impossible to do more than briefly indicate the activities of the corporation in the period that has elapsed since its reformation in 1835 in those various spheres of municipal work, which are being continually increased by new legislation, but its connection with the attempts that were made by private enterprise to improve the navigation of the Ribble, culminating in its taking the matter into its own hands, has involved such a large expenditure of money and has loomed so large in municipal politics that it is necessary to give some account of it. The first concerted effort in this direction was made in 1806 when a company was formed for the purpose,[2] but its capital was so small—amounting only to £2,000—that we are not surprised that it accomplished very little. In 1837, under another Act of Parliament,[3] another company was formed, called the Ribble Navigation Company, in which the former company was merged. The capital of this later creation was £50,000 and the corporation, which in 1830 had acquired two £100 shares in the old company, was authorized to subscribe to the funds of the new one and took up shares to the extent of £10,000. Eight years later the corporation obtained powers to make quays, and the new Act sanctioned at the same time the construction of a branch line (of which the North Union Railway Company and the Ribble Navigation Company were to be the joint owners) to connect them with the railway system. Under a further Act of Parliament, obtained in 1853, the capital of the company was increased and power was obtained to reclaim land on

1. Hewitson, *History*, 403–405.
2. 46 Geo., III, c. cxxi.
3. 1 and 2 Vict., c. viii.

the margin of the stream: by this Act the company gradually became possessed of tracts of land at Longton and Hoole on the south bank and at Freckleton and Newton on the north bank of the Ribble. From the passing of this Act down to the year 1883 little was done in the way of attempted improvements, a matter which will occasion no surprise when it is considered that the undertaking scarcely proved a remunerative investment. In the thirty years from 1853 to 1882 the tolls annually received only exceeded the sum of £2,000 on three occasions, and for the last ten years of that period they had year by year diminished in amount until, in 1882, they only yielded £933. 16s. 7d. In 1866 on the instructions of the corporation a survey of the river took place, and in the following year suggestions were made for the expenditure of £120,000 to £130,000 upon improving the navigation, the construction of a dock, the increasing of the facilities for loading and discharging vessels and for the formation of a joint Board, consisting of representatives of the company and the corporation, to carry out the scheme and control the undertaking, but in view of the opposition that was exhibited to the investing of the town's revenue in such a speculative enterprise, the proposition was dropped. In 1880 and 1881 the matter was revived and the corporation decided to open negotiations for the purchase of the company's undertaking. Public opinion in the meantime had changed and become favourable to the projects of the corporation, which included not only the purchase of the company's rights and property, but the carrying out of a somewhat ambitious scheme, prepared by Sir John Coode, an eminent engineer, for the straightening and deepening of the channel, the excavating of a dock and various other matters designed to make Preston a port accessible to much larger ships than those which had hitherto been able to reach it. After some negotiations the price was agreed upon at £72,500, made up of £50,357 for land reclaimed or in process of reclamation, £14,435 for the

rights and interests of the company in the waterway and the tolls and £7,709 for the companies' share of the branch railway and the land used in connection with it. Having come to this agreement with the company, the corporation approached parliament in 1883 for leave to carry it out and to expend further sums in proceeding with the development scheme. The case for the corporation was that the existence of three authorities, the Ribble Navigation Company, the Railway Companies and the corporation, each having certain rights, led to a conflict of control which militated against the welfare of the undertaking. Secondly, that though the company, by the erection of training walls, had materially improved the condition of the channel for a distance of 8 miles from Preston in the direction of the sea, yet from that point for a similar distance its winding course and the ever shifting sandbanks at its mouth impeded navigation and forbade its being used except by small vessels employed in the coasting trade, and that even these boats had to wait for a high spring tide to float them up to the port, where they were compelled to stay over the neap tides, unless they could be unloaded in time to avail themselves of the spring tides, upon one of which they had arrived. Thirdly, that when they reached their destination, in the absence of a dock they could not float, but were stranded in the bed of the river by the quay side, which led to the straining of those vessels which were laden with cargo. Fourthly, that the capital of the company, amounting to £93,108 was exhausted and that it was not prepared to increase it with a view to carrying out these works. Fifthly, that amongst the assets of the company there was an extremely valuable farm which had been formed out of the land that had been reclaimed at Freckleton, containing 551a. 1r. 28p. and let at £1,600 a year, which the corporation desired to acquire for the purpose of treating and utilizing the town sewage. Sixthly, that Preston had advantages over Liverpool and Fleetwood as being the nearest and most convenient port for the

large manufacturing and coal-mining districts of East Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Seventhly and lastly, that the corporation was already deeply committed in the matter as they had subscribed £21,800 of the capital of the company, besides having spent large sums of money in the building of quays and warehouses and that, as they would naturally study the general interests of the town and its trading population rather than the making of dividends, the undertaking could be more safely entrusted to them than to a company.[1]

The unfortunate part of the business was that as there was no opposition to the scheme from ratepayers, insufficient attention was paid to the financial and engineering aspects of the project, and to the difficulties of obtaining a satisfactory channel through the maze of tortuous sand-banks that were to be found between Southport and Lytham. Even if the scheme were successfully carried out the improvement of the channel could not have been accomplished at once, as it required the formation of training walls, the removal of the hard surface of the bottom by dredging and the gradual deepening of the waterway by the action of the scour of the river, yet, in spite of the fact that the creation of a navigable channel was problematical, the excavation of a large dock, far beyond the possible requirements of the port for many years, was immediately proceeded with. Further, Sir John Coode's scheme was extended, varied and departed from by the local engineers, who were appointed to carry it out, and financial liabilities were incurred beyond the sum of £662,900, the limit of the borrowing powers. Opposition to the mismanagement of the scheme consequently soon manifested itself and, when a further application to parliament for extended borrowing powers became necessary in 1887, the petition was opposed by

1. Speeches of counsel and evidence of witnesses contained in the *Minutes of Proceedings before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.*

an association of ratepayers and property owners, who received the name of the 'Party of Caution.' The result of the application was that the Bill presented was passed, but authority was only given for the borrowing of such a sum as would suffice for the expenses of a single year, during which time the applicants were to reconsider the whole position with a view to their approaching parliament again with a complete scheme.[1]

The outcome of this consideration was the Act of 1889, of which the most important clause by far was one providing for the appointment of a Board of Trade Commission invested with the duty of reporting on the whole scheme. The members of the Commission were Sir G. S. Nares, K.C.B., F.R.S., who acted as chairman, Sir C. A. Hartley, K.C.M.G., M.I.C.E., and Mr. John Wolfe Barry, M.I.C.E. The Commissioners presented an interim report on October 5th, 1889, and their final report on August 7th, 1891, from which it appeared that in their opinion the best solution of the difficulty was to be found in the gradual extension of the river works in the direction of the sea as far as the fourteenth mile from the dock. Their reports were accepted and all subsequent work in connection with the Ribble has followed the lines of the recommendation there laid down. A 'money' bill followed the interim report in 1890, while the Ribble Act of 1892 was the financial sequence of the final report and enabled the training walls to be carried to a length of $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles as a tentative measure.[2]

The next application to parliament resulted in the passing of the Act of 1896, which authorized the extension of the training walls from $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles to $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, it being shown that those already built had had a beneficial result.

Owing to an increase of trade to the port, to the con-

1. *The Ribble Schemes: 1883 and 1888*, published by the Preston Ratepayers and Property Owners' Association.

2. The old training walls erected by the company had deteriorated and become inefficient.

tinued success attending the prolongation of the walls and to other causes, the Ribble Act of 1905 was promoted to enable the corporation, inter alia, to carry the training walls to low water mark 14½ miles from Preston, in accordance with the original suggestion of the Commissioners' report. The principal opposition to this act came from the Urban District Council of St. Annes-on-the-Sea and resulted in the insertion of a clause, providing that all dredged material should be carried out to sea in the hope of preventing accretion of sand on the foreshore.

From that date steady progress has been made with the authorized works and there is now a straight central channel to deep water, with its north training wall carried to 13¼ miles below the dock.

The improved condition of the river has naturally brought increased trade to the port and it seems probable, that with greater facilities for handling and warehousing the goods and dealing with the traffic, the increase will continue. The chief articles of import are wood pulp, boards and deals, macadam, china clay, and iron, while coal is easily the largest of the exports. It is unfortunate that Preston has not yet become an exporting centre for other goods, as many of the vessels which arrive with cargoes are compelled to leave light. During the year ending March 31st, 1911, the income received from the Dock amounted to £73,945. 12s. 7d. and the working expenses to £52,530. 12s. 9d.

The improvement of the waterway and the idea of making Preston a port for ocean going traffic have thus in some sort been accomplished, yet this has not been achieved without an expenditure of money so great that, had the council or the ratepayers foreseen the enormous cost to the town and the heavy burden that it would be necessary to impose in the shape of a Ribble rate, it is morally certain they would never have embarked upon the enterprise. The *Abstract of Accounts* shows that the capital expenditure on the scheme in carrying out the

seven Acts of Parliament that have been obtained has amounted to no less a sum than £1,386,323. 19s. 2d., and that the liabilities of the undertaking still necessitate the imposition of a rate of 1/10¼ in the £. The natural result is that all other departments of municipal enterprise are to a certain extent paralyzed by the necessity of exercising the strictest economy, and matters which call for immediate treatment are postponed as long as possible if they demand the spending of money. It may be that future generations of Prestonians will reap the advantages of all this long struggle with the forces of nature: it is certain that those who have lived in Preston during the last thirty years have oftener reviled than blessed the stream that flowed at their feet.

In addition to being the port authority for the borough the corporation have also in their hands the water supply and the electrical tramway system. The undertaking commenced by Abbatt and Kellett for the supply of water to the town passed in the course of time into the ownership of a Mrs. Tipping, and one of the first acts of the Improvement Commissioners on their creation in 1815 was to call upon this lady to repair the streets in those places where pipes had recently been laid down. As the requirements of the town increased with the growth of its population and manufacturing concerns, this supply became more and more inadequate and in 1832 a company was formed by Act of Parliament to obtain water from Grimsargh. In 1853 the works were purchased by the Local Board of Health for a sum of £135,225 and since then large sums of money have been spent in extending the collecting area and enlarging the various reservoirs in the neighbourhood of Longridge which contain the town's supply.[1]

1. The capital expenditure on the waterworks up to March 31st, 1911, including the sum paid for the acquisition of the company's undertaking, amounts to the sum of £636,027. 5s. 6d. Details are to be found on page 149 of the *Abstract of Accounts* for the year ending March 31st, 1911, issued by the borough treasurer.

In 1879 the first street tramway in Preston was opened. It was made by the Preston Tramways Co. Ltd. and communicated with Fulwood. Three years later the corporation decided to form fresh routes and laid rails from the bottom of Fishergate Hill to the Pleasure Gardens (now Farringdon Park) in Ribbleton and from the town hall to Ashton. A local company, Messrs. W. Harding & Co. Ltd., was granted a lease of 21 years of the track and worked the new routes by horse cars besides supplying horses to the other company which controlled the Fulwood route. On the expiration of this lease the corporation decided to instal an extended electrical system, and after much discussion, both in and out of the council chamber, determined also to work and manage it themselves. Though this determination was only come to in fear and trembling, this venture has proved the most successful of all the town's municipal enterprises. There is an excellent service of well appointed cars at small fares, and arrangements have been made whereby workpeople may make use of them during certain hours at reduced rates. The system has cost no less a sum than £187,269. 4s. 11d., but its popularity, combined with strict economy in working, has not only enabled the Tramways Committee to pay into the sinking fund the sum of £32,450. 12s. 1d., but to establish a reserve fund of £25,225. 8s. 0d.

The lighting of the town is carried out by two limited companies, the Preston Gas Company and the National Electric Supply Company. Suggestions have been made from time to time that the latter company should be acquired by the corporation, but though negotiations with that object were entered into the parties came to no agreement.

Before Preston became a manufacturing centre it had some reputation for its pleasing appearance. At the present time numerous factory chimneys have destroyed much of its former beauty, but even now its aspect when approached from the south has a certain charm. This

is mainly due to the fact that the low lying land, which intervenes between it and the Ribble, has been turned into two parks, known as Avenham Park and Miller Park. Avenham Park formerly consisted very largely of market gardens which were acquired by the corporation, who formed the park between 1861 and 1867. The site of the other park, which is only separated from Avenham Park by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, was given to the town for this purpose by Alderman Thomas Miller in 1864, subject to the corporation associating the name of their benefactor with it and founding a university exhibition of £40 in connection with the Grammar School. Though there is a large expanse of grass in Avenham Park, where children may play and where the custom of 'pace-egging' or egg-rolling is observed every Easter Monday, the playing fields proper of the town are to be found in Moor Park, on the north side of the town. The Moor almost surrounded the town on the northern side in olden days, but it must have been considerably trenched upon for building purposes before the corporation decided in 1834 to put an end to the freemen's right to pasture their cattle upon it and to enclose it. With the exception of certain ornamental shrubberies and winding walks round the boundaries of the park, nearly the whole of it is under grass and is made use of for cricket, football, hockey and bowls. Until the Ribble scheme was undertaken the Marsh at the west end of the town was also available for games, but its proximity to the new dock having increased its value the greater part of it has been sold and large engineering and other works are now erected upon it. Fortunately, the requirements of the residents at this end of the town in the way of a recreation ground have to some extent been met recently by the generous gift of certain fields in Ashton, which have been enclosed, formed into a park and called Haslam Park in memory of the father of the donor. If provision could be made in a similar way for the needs of the east end, the inhabitants of Preston would be more

satisfactorily supplied with those open spaces which are so desirable in the interests of the health of those who live in large towns.

Two of these parks we owe in a large measure to the generosity of private individuals. The list of those Prestonians who in times past have given or bequeathed of their wealth to the town is no small one, though unfortunately many of the charities have disappeared.[1] The most considerable benefaction that the town has yet received was obtained under the Will of Edmund Robert Harris, a local solicitor, and a son of the Revd. Robert Harris, headmaster of the Grammar School from 1788 to 1835 and incumbent of St. George's from 1797 to 1862. The handsome classical building which stands on the east side of the market square and houses the Free Library, the Museum and the Art Gallery has been built out of a sum of £80,000, given by the trustees of his will, upon a site provided by the corporation at a cost of nearly £27,000. After spending £3,000 in objects of art, the trustees handed over to the corporation further sums amounting to £39,466, for the purposes of endowment and of purchasing reference books and works of art.

Prior to the erection of this building a Free Library had been established in 1879 under the provisions of the Free Libraries Act and housed in the town hall. This formation of a library financed by a special rate naturally affected adversely another undertaking, which had been initiated and maintained by private enterprise, and the career of usefulness of the Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge seemed to be at end. Under these circumstances an application was made to the trustees of Mr. Harris's Will and a sum of £40,000 was granted for the purpose of transforming the Institution into a Science and Art School. It is doubtful whether any sum of

1. *Return (No. 312) of Endowed Charities (County of Lancaster and County Borough of Preston)*, 17.

money has ever been better spent. At that time the only school at which any education beyond the elementary stage could be obtained was the Grammar School, which had been transferred in 1841 from Stonygate to new premises erected in Cross Street,[1] but the education given there was classical rather than commercial, while the fees, though not excessive, were yet beyond the means of many parents. This gap in our local educational system was to some extent filled by the Harris Institute, as it was called. The establishment of 'continuation classes' held at night in the elementary schools and the recent building of secondary schools have withdrawn some of the pupils and its energies are being more and more directed to advanced work in science and art. It seems not impossible that, in conjunction with the Technical School, the building of which was also paid for by moneys from the same trust,[2] it may in time

1. The premises were built by a body of shareholders and subsequently purchased from them by the corporation in 1860. The school is now about to be again transferred to a site on the south side of Moor Park.

2. Owing to the courtesy of Messrs. W. Banks & Co., of Preston, who were the solicitors to the trustees, I am able to give the following figures, which though not furnishing a complete list of his benefactions, show how largely Preston has benefited under Mr. Harris's Will :—

	£	s.	d.
Preston Industrial Institution for the employment and education of the blind	500	0	0
Foundation of scholarships at the Preston Grammar School	3,000	0	0
The enlargement or improvement of churches or chapels of the Church of England in Preston or the erection of schools for elementary education in the town	7,275	0	0
Harris Institute and Technical School	78,564	8	3
Harris Orphanage, Fulwood	100,000	0	0
Harris Free Library and Museum	122,466	0	0
	£311,805	8	3

develop into a local university on the lines of those which are to be found in Manchester, Liverpool and other cities.

Undoubtedly the most important of all the departments of municipal government is that which concerns itself with the public health. The careful attention which has been bestowed on the cleansing of the town, the destruction of its refuse, the disposal of its sewage, the closing of insanitary property, the flagging of backyards and other similar matters has resulted in a gradual but continuous lowering of the death rate in recent years. Like other manufacturing towns, however, Preston has still a somewhat evil reputation on account of the heavy mortality amongst infants, though a similar improvement is also noticeable here.[1]

In the separate yet allied matter of the public provision of medical and surgical aid the town is fortunate in possessing an up-to-date and well equipped Infirmary. The first steps in that direction were taken by private individuals who founded a Dispensary in 1809 and a House of Recovery in 1833. These two institutions were combined in the Infirmary, which was opened in 1870, and has since been extended. The corporation is represented on the board of management but the Infirmary

1. The following table taken from the Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year ending December 31st, 1910, shows this very clearly :—

Year.	Estimated Population.	Total No. of Deaths.	Rate per 1000.	No. of Deaths under 1 year.	Rate per 1000.
1901	113,117	2,213	19·56	737	6·51
1902	113,766	1,998	17·56	618	5·43
1903	114,404	1,955	17·08	541	4·72
1904	115,055	2,091	17·83	609	5·29
1905	115,721	1,906	16·47	490	4·23
1906	116,399	2,065	17·74	665	5·71
1907	117,093	2,003	17·10	495	4·22
1908	117,799	1,975	16·45	516	4·38
1909	118,519	1,721	14·52	416	3·50
1910	119,253	1,758	14·74	438	3·67

receives no aid from the rates and is maintained by donations and subscriptions, a considerable portion of which is furnished by those who work in the factories and workshops of the town. The provision thus made for the needs of the sick has been supplemented by the corporation, who have recently built an Isolation Hospital on the Holme Slack estate for the reception of patients suffering from zymotic diseases.

The constant growth of corporate business from 1835 onwards eventually made it necessary to provide more adequate and more suitable premises, and in 1860 it was decided to demolish the old town hall, which had been in existence from 1782, and to erect a new one on its site. The work of designing the building was entrusted to the well known architect Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Scott, and in 1867 the work was completed at a cost of £69,412. 6s. 7d. The new town hall is a pleasing example of the early French Gothic style of architecture, with a graceful tower containing a clock made according to the designs of Mr. E. M. Dennison (afterwards Lord Grimthorpe). While the beauty of the building cannot be disputed, it was never too well adapted for the purposes for which it was intended and of recent years it has become too small for the numerous staff of a growing municipality.

There is another building in the town which is also devoted to the service of local government. Now, as in the seventeenth century, the work of governing Lancashire is centred in Preston and the county council, which has succeeded to most of the powers and duties of the justices and acquired others which the latter did not possess, has erected large offices in Fishergate Hill to the west of the railway station, where its monthly meetings are held and the business of the county conducted.

Having thus briefly indicated the great changes that have been made in the town during the last century and the different branches of municipal enterprise which exist at the present time, we may now conclude with a short

review of its political history during the last hundred years.

The coalition which had returned Lord Stanley and John Horrocks without a contest in 1802 was able to secure the unopposed return of Samuel Horrocks on the death of his brother in 1804. At the general election of 1806, also, no opposition was forthcoming and the sitting members were again returned. This compact between two opposing factions was resented, however, by a considerable number of persons, some of whom possibly regretted the loss of money, food and drink, which during election times were freely and openly offered to the 'independent and incorruptible electors,' but the majority of whom seem to have honestly disapproved of a manœuvre whereby the burgesses were practically disfranchised. As a consequence at the next general election, which occurred in 1807, these dissentients put forward an Independent candidate in the person of Joseph Hanson.

Hanson was a manufacturer and merchant of Manchester, and had been a candidate at Chester and Stafford before being adopted for Preston. He had much to do with the volunteer movement of the day and was Lieutenant-Colonel commandant of the Manchester and Salford Rifle Regiment which he had helped to raise. For speaking at a public meeting in favour of a movement by weavers to raise their wages he was prosecuted at Lancaster Assizes and sentenced to six months imprisonment, which had the effect of making him a popular hero. In his political opinions he belonged to the little band of reformers who had come into existence in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and were known as Radicals. They were democratic and advocated a wide extension of the franchise, while they naturally sympathized at the same time with the principles of the French Revolution. This last characteristic was seized upon by Hanson's opponents at Preston and he was described as a friend or emissary of Napoleon

Bonaparte.[1] The election lasted for twelve days. At the end of the eleventh day Hanson resigned, when he had received 1,001 votes, and those voters who had delayed to record their votes while the opposition candidate was still in the field now hurriedly placed them to the credit of Stanley and Horrocks, with the result that the figures were finally declared to be as follows :— Stanley, 1,619; Horrocks, 1,616; Hanson, 1,002.

When the next general election took place in October, 1812, it was determined that another fight should be made against the coalition. Lord Stanley at this time left the borough to become a county member and his place was taken by Edmund Hornby of Dalton Hall, in Westmorland, whose mother and whose wife both belonged to the family which had so long claimed to dictate the parliamentary representation of Preston. The Independent candidate was Edward Hanson, a brother of Joseph Hanson, who had died in the interval. He did not make nearly so good a fight as his brother and at the end of the polling, which lasted for eight days, the numbers were :—Horrocks, 1,379; Hornby, 1,368; Hanson, 727. The election expenses of the coalition candidates amounted to £5,844. 12s. 7d ,[2] of which no less than £3,807. 13s. 7d. was paid to public houses. It must have been considerable satisfaction to Hornby to know that his father-in-law, the Earl of Derby, would pay his share of them.

When the next contest occurred in June, 1818, a Dr. Peter Crompton of Eton House, near Liverpool, was put forward, as the Independent candidate. He had appeared at a county meeting convened by the high sheriff and

1. One of the election squibs declared that,

'He that votes for this Hanson, believe me, 's a tony,
For in voting for Hanson, he's voting for Bony.'

One is irresistibly reminded of a famous phrase, coined at the general election of 1900, to the effect that, 'A vote given to the Liberals is a vote given to the Boers.'

2. This is the figure given by Abram, Dobson puts it at £5,671. 17s. 6d.

held in the borough on February 25th, 1817, 'to address the Prince Regent on the late atrocious outrage (Jan. 28th, 1817) offered to his royal person and to express our ardent attachment to His Majesty's person and government.' Crompton moved a counter-address lamenting the outrage, but complaining of the conduct of the ministers and praying for their dismissal. This he succeeded in carrying and obtained some considerable reputation in consequence, which seems to have caused him to be sought out and adopted at Preston. The Stanley and corporation influence, however, was still too powerful to be overthrown and at the end of the seven days' polling, Horrocks headed the poll with 1,694 votes, Hornby being second with 1,598 and Crompton well behind with 1,245.

The long reign of George III came to an end in 1820, and his death, according to the constitution at that time, necessitated another general election. By this time the movement against the regulation of the representation of the borough had spread and a section of the Whig party determined to run a candidate with the object of overthrowing Horrocks. Those who took this resolution seem to have belonged to that section of the Whig party, which was breaking away from the domination of the great Whig families and traced their political descent from Fox and not from the territorial grandees who had once controlled the House of Commons. Like the Radicals, too, they were influenced by the new ideas which were spreading from the continent and in allusion to this they were beginning to be called by a name of foreign origin, Liberals.[1] The candidate whom they

1. When this word was first borrowed from continental politics it was spelt 'Liberales,' the letter 'a' in it being pronounced in the same way as in 'father.' This did not last long and its pronunciation and spelling were soon assimilated to that of the English word 'Liberal.' *New Eng. Dict.*, VI, 238.

The word 'closure' has a similar history. In derision or contempt this method of limiting debates was styled on its introduction 'clôture.'

selected at Preston was an able and worthy man John Williams of Bunbury, in Cheshire, a barrister-at-law and one of Queen Caroline's counsel in her trial which took place this year. He subsequently represented Lincoln, Ilchester, and Winchelsea in parliament and later in life was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer, being afterwards transferred to the King's Bench.

The Independent candidate was one of the best known Radicals of the day, Henry Hunt, or 'Orator' Hunt, as he is frequently styled. Hunt was at this time about 47 years of age, tall and muscular, with a healthy, sun-tinged complexion and a manly bearing, looking half yeoman, half sportsman. He had been in the army and served in Canada, but being dismissed on his return to England from the yeomanry of the district by Lord Bruce, the commanding officer, he challenged him, for which offence he was indicted, fined £100 and sent to prison for six weeks. Here he seems to have met certain Radicals and to have acquired from them those views in the advocacy of which he gained such notoriety. At one time he followed the occupation of a farmer and is said to have had the best flock of Southdowns in Wiltshire, but he afterwards became a manufacturer of blacking and annato. On the 16th August, 1819, he was present at the 'Peterloo massacre,' and at the very time that he came to Preston he was under recognizances to appear at York to take his trial for the part he had taken in that meeting. Apparently the offer to contest Preston in the Radical interest was first made by Hunt himself, though he coupled it with the proviso that he would not put himself into competition with Dr. Crompton, if the latter was prepared to fight again. Owing to the extensive suffrage which Preston possessed, its election always attracted a great deal of attention from persons who were interested in constitutional experiments, and it, not unnaturally, had a particular attraction for the Radicals, who saw in it a practical working model of their theories, with the result that the party in Preston was never at a

loss for a candidate. Their experience can scarcely have strengthened their faith in their creed, as the main difference between this town and other places must surely have appeared to consist in this, that as there were more electors, there were more people to corrupt. That this was done thoroughly and systematically by Horrocks and Hornby at this election is very obvious from their election accounts, which disclose the fact that their expenses amounted to the stupendous sum of £11,559. 12s. 8d. of which £8,203. 19s. 4d. went to the public houses. The contest was severe, but the prestige of the Derby family, coupled with the corporation influence, and supported by the solid backing of most manufacturers and their workpeople was unconquerable and when the result was announced, at the end of the thirteen days during which the polling took place, the figures were as follows:—Horrocks, 1,902; Hornby, 1,649; Williams, 1,525; Hunt, 1,127.

The next election did not take place until fully six years had elapsed. Mr. Horrocks, who had represented the borough for twenty-two years then retired, and at the same time the corporation decided to take no further part in parliamentary elections. Mr. Hornby having also determined to retire, his place as candidate was taken by the Hon. E. G. Stanley, (afterwards Earl of Derby and Prime Minister of England) who had been M.P. for Stockbridge since 1822 and Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the administration of Lord Goderich. The Liberals put forward John Wood, a Liverpool man and a barrister, who subsequently became first Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue. The Radicals secured as their champion William Cobbett, the well known author and politician, who vied in popularity with Hunt and much excelled him in ability. Somewhat late in the day the Tories brought out Robert Barrie of Swarthdale House, Lancaster, a captain in the navy. Before his appearance the other candidates had come to an agreement not to impose the taking of the

oath of supremacy on those who presented themselves to vote and thus permit the Roman Catholics to take part in the election. Barrie refused to consent to this, which possibly accounts for the hostile reception he received when he presented himself with the other candidates at the hustings.[1]

Stanley's return was practically assured from the moment that he announced his intention of becoming a candidate, for, though the coalition had dissolved, many of the Tories gave their second vote to him instead of plumping for Barrie. The election lasted fifteen days, the full length of time allowed by the law, and was a time of wild excitement, necessitating the calling in of the military to preserve order. The result was a triumph for the Whigs and the Liberals, Stanley receiving 2,944 votes, Wood 1,974, Barrie 1,653 and Cobbett 995.

At the next election which was held in July, 1830, and was occasioned by the death of George IV, the Tories did not put forward a candidate, but Hunt again appeared in the Radical interest. However it was so soon evident that he had no chance of success that he withdrew after the poll had been open for three days and Stanley and Wood were again returned.

Earl Grey was entrusted with the formation of the new ministry and he offered the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland to Stanley, who accepted it and consequently had to seek re-election. At this by-election which took place in December the Radicals again nominated Hunt. The latter apparently thought so little of his prospects at first that he did not appear in the town until the fifth day of the polling. However, a variety of circumstances combined to bring about his success. Briefly stated these were the over-confidence of Stanley's committee, who omitted to provide the usual 'hospitality' for the

1. The nomination and polling at this election took place in the recently erected Corn Exchange, instead of the town hall, which had become inadequate for the purpose.

electors, and of the manufacturers, who not treating the contest seriously did not exert their influence on their workpeople, combined with the hostility of the Tories, who were opposed to the Reform Bill of which Stanley was a distinguished supporter. As a result Hunt received 3,730 votes, while his opponent only obtained 3,392.

This affront was bitterly resented by the Earl of Derby, and though an attempt was subsequently successfully made to renew the political connection between the family and the borough, the relationship was never again so close or so cordial as it had been in the past. The races which had been held by him on Fulwood Moor were given up, the family ceased to reside in the borough, and in 1835 Patten House, which had been the town house of the Stanleys for a hundred and fifty years was first closed and afterwards pulled down to make room for shops.

The next general election took place on the 29th April, 1831, and the great issue was the Reform Bill. The Tories again were without a candidate, and though efforts were made to bring out a Reform candidate, to contest Hunt's seat, they were unsuccessful and he and Wood were returned without opposition.

The passing of the Reform Bill in June, 1832, necessitated a dissolution of parliament and a general election. Under the new Act the main qualification for the possession of the franchise in boroughs was the occupation of premises of the annual value of £10. All other qualifications were abolished, but those who possessed votes by virtue of them were allowed to retain their privileges. When the new register of Preston voters was published it appeared that while there were 6,291 entitled to vote under their old title as inhabitants, only 736 occupied premises of the prescribed value, and that of this number 675 had a duplicate qualification.[1] From that time down to the passing of the Reform Act of 1867 the number of

1. Dobson, *Parliamentary Representation*, 79.

electors steadily diminished, for though there was a continuous addition to the ranks of those possessing the £10 qualification, it was only slight and did not keep pace with the rapid decrease in those who retained their old franchise rights: so that, so far as Preston was concerned, the great Reform Act was a disfranchising measure which actually limited the electorate.

On this occasion the Tories, who were beginning to adopt the title of Conservatives,[1] put forward Mr. Peter Hesketh-Fleetwood of Rossall Hall. The Hon. Henry Thomas Stanley consented to be the Whig candidate in the place of Mr. Wood who retired and Hunt and a Captain Forbes, R.N., were nominated by the Radicals. A fifth candidate also appeared in the person of Mr. Charles Crompton of Liverpool, a son of the Dr. Crompton who had contested the borough in 1818. Under the new provisions as to voting contained in the Reform Act the time for polling was limited to two days and voting was allowed to take place in different parts of the town and not confined to one central spot. Whigs and Tories combined in an attempt to oust Hunt and this coalition proved as successful as the old one had been. Mr. Hesketh-Fleetwood headed the poll with 3,372 votes and Stanley was second with 3,273. Hunt and Forbes received 2,054 and 1,926 votes respectively while the unfortunate Crompton, who had been squeezed out by the two organizations, only obtained 118.

In 1834 William IV dismissed Lord Melbourne and called upon Sir Robert Peel to form a ministry. This he consented to do and dissolved parliament. At the general election which took place in the following January Mr. Hesketh-Fleetwood and Mr. Stanley offered themselves for re-election. The Liberal candidate was

1. The word was first used in this connection by John Wilson Croker in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1830, in which he spoke of being 'attached to what is called the Tory, and which might with more propriety be called the Conservative party. *New Eng. Dict.*, II, 855.

Colonel (afterwards General) T. Perronet Thompson[1] who after fighting in Brazil, Spain and India left the army in 1822 to take up the pursuits of politics and literature. He was one of the small band of 'philosophic Radicals' who followed and admired Jeremy Bentham and, besides contributing numerous articles to the *Westminster Review* (of which he became the proprietor), he was the author of several works, the best known of which is the *Catechism of the Corn Laws*. The Radicals nominated a Mr. Thomas Smith of Liverpool, a friend and associate of Cobbett. The election resulted in the return of the former members by great majorities, the numbers being as follows:—Hesketh-Fleetwood, 2,165; Stanley, 2,092; Thompson, 1385; Smith, 789.

In June, 1837, the king died and a general election followed in July. Mr. Hesketh-Fleetwood was again a candidate, but Mr. Stanley, his colleague, retired from parliament. The Conservatives were not altogether satisfied with Mr. Hesketh-Fleetwood, who had already given evidence of the possession of views which were eventually to lead him to change his party, and they brought forward another candidate in the person of Mr. Robert Townley Parker of Cuerden Hall, near Preston. The Liberals nominated Mr. John Crawfurd,[2] a well known orientalist who had been governor of Singapore and associated with Colonel Thompson in the management of the *Westminster Review*. The Radicals were without a candidate. Mr. Hesketh-Fleetwood received votes from both parties and was easily at the head of the poll, obtaining 2,726 votes to 1,821 and 1,562 polled by his Conservative and Liberal opponents respectively.

In 1841 Lord Melbourne, who had only been kept in office for the last two years by the favour of the Queen, was defeated on a proposal to alter the sliding scale of the corn tax to a moderate fixed duty, and dissolved

1. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LVI, 224–226.
2. *Ibid.*, XIII, 60.

parliament. At the ensuing general election there was for the first time a straight fight in Preston between two Liberals and two Conservatives. In the interval that had elapsed since the last election Mr. Hesketh-Fleetwood had been made a baronet and had become a Liberal. He was, of course, accused by his opponents of having turned his coat for a title and in the election literature of the time was generally referred to as 'Sir Peter Rat.' He was also charged with having opposed the Ribble Navigation Bill in the interests of the town of Fleetwood, which he had created at the mouth of the Wyre, and with having supported the Poor Law Amendment Act, which was very unpopular in this neighbourhood. Whether these charges were true or not, he was adopted as the Liberal candidate in conjunction with Sir George Strickland of Boynton, who had formerly been M.P. for the county of York. Mr. Townley Parker was again nominated by the Conservatives and Mr. Charles Swainson of Cooper Hill, Walton-le-dale, a partner in the firm of Swainson, Birley & Co., who owned the 'Big Factory,' was induced to stand with him. Mr. Townley Parker having abstained from voting in favour of a motion to reduce the sugar tax, received the nickname of 'Sour pie' and his colleague, who was said to have been a Reformer and to have voted for the Hansons, was invariably called 'Blowaway,' because, being like Hamlet 'fat and scant of breath,' the ascent of the hill from his house in Walton to his mill in Preston made him 'puff' and 'blow.' The question of the repeal of the Corn Laws was one of the main issues and it is interesting to note that the two Free Traders were elected. The result of the polling was as follows:—Hesketh-Fleetwood, 1,655; Strickland, 1,629; Parker, 1,270; Swainson, 1,255.

At the next election in July, 1847, Sir Peter Hesketh-Fleetwood retired and Mr. Charles Pascoe Grenfell, a director of the Bank of England, was adopted in his stead. The other candidates were Sir George Strickland

and Mr. Townley Parker. The polling again resulted in the return of two Liberals, the voting being:—Strickland, 1,404; Grenfell, 1,378; Parker, 1,361.

The rivalry existing between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell brought about the fall of the Liberal government in 1852 and the Earl of Derby, having formed a ministry, appealed to the country and a general election was held in July. In Preston the candidates were the same as at the last election, with the addition of another Liberal in the person of Mr. James German, an alderman and ex-mayor of the town. Grenfell had voted for the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which had been passed, in a sort of Protestant panic, to prohibit Roman Catholic bishops taking their titles from the names of English towns, and this naturally weakened his position in a town which contained such a large proportion of voters who professed that religion. The presence of a third candidate also dissipated the Liberal strength and these causes led to the gain of a seat by the Conservatives. The figures were:—Parker, 1,335; Strickland, 1,253; Grenfell, 1,127; German, 692.

At the next general election which took place in March, 1857, Mr. Townley Parker withdrew from parliamentary life and the Conservatives adopted Mr. Assheton Cross (subsequently created a peer) in his stead. The Liberal candidates were Sir George Strickland and Mr. Grenfell. At this election as at the previous one Mr. Grenfell failed to receive the support of the Roman Catholics, but this loss was more than compensated for by the fact that a number of Conservatives exercised their second vote in his favour and in the result he headed the poll with 1,503 votes, Mr. Cross obtaining 1,433 and Sir George Strickland 1,094.

The Derby ministry being defeated in May, 1859, on their proposals for electoral reform a general election followed. Mr. Grenfell being still unpopular with the Roman Catholics, the Conservative party decided to nominate another candidate with Mr. Cross in the hope

of securing both seats. This they nearly accomplished, as Mr. John Talbot Clifton of Lytham, the person they selected, was only defeated by the narrow margin of 40 votes. The figures were :—Cross, 1,542; Grenfell, 1,208; Clifton, 1,168. A petition was presented against Mr. Grenfell's return—the first and the last since 1784—alleging bribery and other illegal practices, but it was unsuccessful.

A by-election took place in April, 1862, on the retirement of Mr. Cross. The Conservatives obtained Sir Thomas George Hesketh, Bart., of Rufford, as their candidate and the Liberals nominated Mr. George Melly, a Liverpool merchant. The Roman Catholics again threw the weight of their votes against the Liberal, with the result that Sir Thomas Hesketh secured an easy victory, polling 1,527 votes against 1,014 cast for his opponent.

When the next general election occurred in July, 1865, Mr. Grenfell retired from the representation of the borough and the Liberals being unable to obtain a candidate, Sir Thomas Hesketh and the Hon. F. A. Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby) were returned without a contest.

In 1867 though many Conservatives shrank from taking a 'leap in the dark' and Lord Cranborne and Lord Carnarvon resigned in disgust at this attempt to 'dish the Whigs,' the Derby-Disraeli ministry passed a Reform Bill and established household suffrage.[1] The next year Mr. Gladstone carried a resolution against the government in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and shortly afterwards they dissolved parliament. The campaign that preceded the election in Preston was long drawn out and hotly contested. The numbers of the electors had been largely increased by the

1. On the register for 1867–8 there were 2,299 £10 occupiers and 342 old franchise voters, 63 persons being on both lists, making a total of 2,578. On the new list for 1868–9 there were 11,302. Dobson, *Parliamentary Representation*, 79n.

recent extension of the franchise and the Roman Catholics returned to the support of a party which was pledged to remove the imposition of a Protestant church from a Catholic country. The latter had a further inducement to support the Liberal party in the fact that Lord Edward Howard, a member of the leading English Catholic family, had been chosen with Mr. Joseph Francis Leese,[1] a local man, to represent the Liberal party. The Conservative candidates were the sitting member Sir T. G. Fermor-Hesketh[2] and Mr. Edward Hermon, the head of the cotton firm of Messrs. Horrockses, Miller & Co., who had been adopted in the place of the Hon. F. A. Stanley, who withdrew from Preston to contest North Lancashire. The polling took place on November 17th and resulted in an easy win for the Conservative candidates, the numbers being:— Hermon, 5,803; Hesketh, 5,700; Leese, 4,741; Howard, 4,663.

The death of Sir T. G. Fermor-Hesketh in 1872 necessitated a by-election. In the interval Mr. Gladstone had passed the Ballot Act, but as only one election had been held under its provisions, Preston once again became a point of attraction for all those who were interested in constitutional experiments and many politicians visited the town to observe the conduct of the election under the new conditions. The Conservatives adopted Mr. John Holker, Q.C., leader of the Northern circuit, while the Liberals selected Mr. James German, who had been an unauthorized candidate in 1852 and had come forward but retired in 1868. The election took place on September 13th and the result was as follows:— Holker, 4,542; German, 3,824.

On the dissolution of parliament in 1874 the Liberals

1. Afterwards Sir Joseph Francis Leese, Bart., K.C., M.P. for Accrington for many years and Recorder of the City of Manchester.

2. He had married a Fermor, the sister and heiress of the last Earl Pomfret and added the name to his surname in 1867.

were so weak and so disheartened that they did not run a candidate, but many of them recorded their votes for Mr. Thomas Mottershead of London who came forward as a working man's candidate.[1] He was not able to make any impression on the town, which had now changed from a Liberal to a Conservative stronghold, and the former members were again returned. The voting which took place on February 3rd, gave the following result:—Hermon, 6,512; Holker, 5,211; Mottershead, 3,756.

Mr. Holker having accepted the post of Solicitor-General was compelled to seek re-election in April. No one being bold enough to challenge a contest, he was returned without opposition.

In March, 1880, parliament was dissolved and the Beaconsfield administration came to an end. In the general election which followed, the Preston Liberals nominated Mr. G. H. Bahr, a Liverpool merchant, in the hope of defeating Sir John Holker and thus wresting one seat from their opponents. Unfortunately for them Mr. Bahr was taken ill and was unable to take any part in the contest. It was consequently a considerable surprise to every one to find, when the polling had taken place, that they had nearly accomplished their purpose, and that their candidate had polled only 286 votes less than Sir John Holker. The actual figures were as follows:—Hermon, 6,239; Holker, 5,641; Bahr, 5,355.

Owing to the death of Mr. Hermon a by-election took place in May, 1881. The Conservatives selected as their candidate Mr. W. Farrer Ecroyd, a member of the

1. He had been a Chartist and was a member of the Labour League. He advocated a Fifty-four hours Bill, an amendment of the criminal laws, and an alteration of the law of conspiracy: on the other hand he was opposed to any interference with the recent educational settlement and to the disestablishment of the Church of England. The election was a somewhat hurried affair and the polling took place in less than a week after his arrival in the town. *Preston Guardian*, January 31st and February 7th, 1874.

Society of Friends and a cotton manufacturer of Burnley. As is well known Mr. Ecroyd was one of the leaders of that 'Fair Trade' movement of the early eighties, the main features of which have recently been reproduced by one of its most vehement opponents, Mr. Chamberlain, in his programme of 'Tariff Reform.' The Liberals put forward as Mr. Ecroyd's opponent, Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, a director of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, proprietor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and an able exponent of the principles of Free Trade. The result was an overwhelming triumph for the Conservative party, Mr. Ecroyd receiving 6,004 votes to 4,340 polled for his opponent.

Another by-election was necessitated in the following year owing to Sir John Holker being made a judge. The Conservatives adopted the Right Hon. Henry Cecil Raikes, who had formerly been M.P. for Chester but had been thrown out at the last general election. The local Liberal party decided not to contest the seat, but five days before the day fixed for the election, Mr. William Simpson, a Liverpool caterer, came forward as an Independent Liberal and Labour candidate, and in spite of the short time which he was before the electors he succeeded in polling 4,212 votes to the 6,045 cast for Mr. Raikes.

In November of the same year still another by-election became necessary owing to Mr. Raikes resigning his seat to become a candidate for the University of Cambridge, where the Right Hon. Spencer Walpole, one of the members had decided to retire. The Conservatives had a plethora of candidates and a pretty quarrel ensued as a result. It was first of all announced that Mr. John Eldon Gorst, Q.C., a Prestonian, an old Grammar School boy and M.P. for Chatham had been selected and that he had consented to stand. Next, Mr. William Edward Murray Tomlinson, a barrister-at-law, who had withdrawn in favour of Mr. Raikes at the last election, declared his intention of contesting the seat and was

supported in his determination by the Conservative Working Men's Club. Mr. Gorst then wrote a letter in which he referred to Mr. Raikes's 'sudden desertion' of Preston and declined to leave the constituency for which he was member. Three days afterwards that section of the Conservative party, which was connected with the Guildhall Street Club, brought forward Mr. R. W. Hanbury, formerly M.P. for North Staffordshire as the 'official' candidate.[1] The democratic revolt against those who had hitherto led the party in the town was conducted with great spirit and caused much bitterness. It was rumoured that the Liberals would nominate Sir Ughtred J. Kay-Shuttleworth (now Lord Shuttleworth) or a Mr. S. B. Guion of Liverpool. After consideration, however, they decided not to run a candidate but to foment the discord that existed between the two sections of their opponents by assisting Mr. Tomlinson, in the hope that the feud would continue and thus enable them to return a member at the next general election. This combination of forces was naturally too strong for Mr. Hanbury and his supporters, and Mr. Tomlinson was returned by 6,351 votes to 4,167.

In June, 1885, the Gladstone ministry was defeated on the Budget and a general election followed in November. The sanguine expectations of the Preston Liberals were doomed to disappointment as the differences which existed in the Conservative party had been healed and the members of it were again in unison. Mr. Ecroyd having announced his intention of withdrawing from parliamentary life, Mr. Hanbury and Mr. Tomlinson were both nominated. Their Liberal opponent was Mr.

1. It is said that Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Arthur Balfour were invited to contest the seat after Mr. Gorst's refusal, and the names of the following gentlemen were also mentioned as possible or probable candidates, viz., Mr. Sampson Lloyd (formerly M.P. for Plymouth), Mr. John Addison (recorder of the borough), Sir Henry Maine, Lord Cranborne (the present Marquis of Salisbury) and Mr. W. R. Kennedy (now Lord Justice Kennedy). *Preston Guardian*, November 11th, 1882.

T. W. Russell, an able and eloquent speaker, who has since had a varied and distinguished parliamentary career,[1] but he was no more successful than his predecessors in his attack upon this citadel of Conservatism. The result of the polling which took place on November 24th was :—Tomlinson, 8,459; Hanbury, 7,971; Russell, 5,591.

This general election placed the balance of power in the House of Commons in the hands of the Irish representatives, and the repressive policy of the Conservative government having induced them to give their support to the Liberals, the Marquis of Salisbury resigned in February, 1886, and Mr. Gladstone formed another ministry. Mr. Gladstone had recently become a convert to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland and in April he introduced a Bill to carry this into effect. As is well known, this caused a split in the Liberal party and the Bill was thrown out in the House of Commons on its second reading. Parliament was accordingly dissolved and a general election ensued in July. In Preston the sitting members were again nominated by the Conservative party and were opposed on this occasion by Mr. George Potter, who described himself as a Gladstonian and Labour candidate,[2] and by Mr. J. Ormerod Pilkington, a barrister-at-law, a captain in the volunteers and the son of Mr. W. Ormerod Pilkington of Ashton-on-Ribble, a solicitor and landowner of the town. The

1. The Right Hon. Thomas Wallace Russell, P.C., at one time an active anti-Home Ruler, M.P. for South Tyrone from 1886—1900, Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board in the Conservative administration of 1895—1900 and Vice-President of the Department for Agriculture and Technical Instruction of Ireland since 1907.

2. Mr. Potter was a joiner by trade and had led the agitation for a nine hours' day in the building trade, which resulted in a lock-out in 1859. He had abandoned this occupation for journalism and established the *Beehive*, which afterwards became the *Industrial Review*. He was a member of the first and second London school boards and unsuccessfully contested Peterborough in 1874. *Preston Guardian*, June 25, 1886.

Liberals fared no better with two candidates than they had previously done with one and both the Conservatives were returned with ample majorities. The figures were:—Tomlinson, 7,497; Hanbury, 7,296; Pilkington, 4,982; Potter, 4,771.

At the next general election which took place in July, 1892, the Conservatives nominated the sitting members, while the Liberals obtained the services of Mr. Charles Weld-Blundell, a member of a well-known Lancashire Roman Catholic family and the owner of considerable estates in the district between Southport and Liverpool. The result showed that a number of Roman Catholics, who had previously supported the Conservatives, must have changed their political allegiance, as the majority, though still a substantial one, was considerably reduced. The actual numbers were as follows:—Hanbury, 8,070; Tomlinson, 7,764; Weld-Blundell, 6,182.

In 1893 at a national conference held at Bradford, there was inaugurated a new socialist organization known as the Independent Labour Party, and a branch of it was formed in Preston on March 13th of the same year. When the electorate was next appealed to in July, 1895, it was this body that took up the struggle in Preston that was abandoned by the Liberals and nominated a Mr. James Tattersall[1] to oppose Messrs. Hanbury and Tomlinson. Their candidate was an unknown man and they themselves were few in numbers and were not organized for election purposes: on the other hand Mr. Hanbury, who had been created a privy councillor, had obtained some reputation as a financial critic, and had become much more popular with the electors, while Mr. Tomlinson's local interests and connection with the town always more than compensated for his lack of ability as a speaker and made him a strong candidate. The election naturally resulted in the return of the old

1. He afterwards became a Conservative and is now or was recently an alderman of the Leeds city council.

members by large majorities, the figures being:—Hanbury, 8,928; Tomlinson, 7,622; Tattersall, 4,781.

Undismayed by this defeat the I.L.P. secured as their candidate at the 'khaki' election of 1900, the well known Socialist and Labour leader, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, who was nominated at the same time for Merthyr Tydvil. Mr. Hardie was successful at the latter place and was the only Labour member returned to the House of Commons at this election, but at Preston the figures scarcely varied from those recorded at the election held five years previously. They were as follows:—Hanbury, 8,944; Tomlinson,[1] 8,067; Keir Hardie, 4,834.

On Mr. Hanbury being appointed president of the Board of Agriculture he sought re-election and was returned without a contest on December 8th of the same year.

The next year witnessed the formation at Newcastle of a body, which, in the short time that it has existed, has already exercised great influence on our parliamentary history and has created a third political party, definite and distinct from the two already existing, and devoting its attention chiefly to Labour questions. This is the Labour Representation Committee, which is primarily a federation of Trade Unions, Trades Councils and the Independent Labour Party, though the Fabian Society and Co-operative Societies are also eligible for membership. A branch of this new body was formed in Preston and when Mr. Hanbury died early in 1903 and a by-election became necessary, it put forward as a candidate Mr. John Hodge, the secretary of the Steel Smelters' Union and now M.P. for the Gorton division of Lancashire. The choice of the Conservatives fell upon Mr. John Kerr, one of the directors of an engineering firm that had recently acquired part of the Marsh from the corporation and erected large workshops upon it.

1. In the interval between the elections of 1895 and 1900 Mr. Tomlinson had been made a baronet.

Though the constitution of the L.R.C. precluded them from asking or accepting any assistance from the Liberals of the town, a large number of the latter supported Mr. Hodge[1] and so enabled him to obtain the respectable total of 6,490 votes to the 8,639 recorded for his opponent.

On May 15th, 1903,—the day after the election at Preston—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who had recently returned from a tour in South Africa, made a speech at Birmingham in which he suggested the abandonment or alteration of the existing Free Trade fiscal system in order to establish preferential tariffs between England and her colonies. This speech was as the letting out of waters and within a short time the Conservative party was inundated by the waves of a new Protectionist movement, which took to itself the title of 'Tariff Reform.' The spread of the movement caused much anxiety in Lancashire, as the majority of the people concerned in the cotton trade, whatever their views on other political topics might be, were firmly of the opinion that they did not require any tariffs to protect the home market against foreign competition, and that the imposition of them in the interests of other industries would increase the cost of production of cotton goods and thereby threaten their supremacy in the neutral markets of India and China.

At this juncture—to be precise in June, 1903—the Liberals of Preston formed a new Association and determined to take an active part in parliamentary elections again. Shortly afterwards they obtained as their prospective candidate for the next election, Mr. Harold Cox, a journalist, who had been secretary of the Cobden Club, and who was and is one of the most lucid and brilliant exponents of the case for Free Trade. In the interval that elapsed before the next general election an

1. Mr. Hodge received unofficial assistance in his campaign from Mr. Leif Jones, now M.P. for the Rushcliffe division of Notts, and from the Revd. Mr. Kennedy (since deceased), the well known 'Radical parson' of Plumpton in Cumberland.

active campaign was carried on, and under the auspices of the Liberal Association or of the branch of the Free Trade League that was established in the town, speeches were delivered by many of the most distinguished politicians and statesmen of the day.[1] The L.R.C. also determined to contest the seat at the next opportunity and secured as their candidate Mr. J. T. Macpherson, another official of the Steel Smelters' Union, a fluent and powerful speaker, who quickly became very popular amongst the operatives of the town.

On the other hand the Conservatives were in a hapless case. Ten continuous years of office had tended to make the government stale, and the reaction from the fever of the South African war, combined with the wide spread resentment at their introduction of Chinese coolies into South Africa, had made them very unpopular. In addition to all this, in Preston as elsewhere, they were divided in opinion with respect to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals and many prominent men separated themselves from their party on the question. Still, in spite of signs and portents, the Conservatives of Preston scarcely believed that their long domination was at length to be overthrown. When the campaign ended, however, and the polling took place on January 15th, 1906, it resulted in the return of the Labour and Liberal candidates by large majorities. The voting was as follows:—Macpherson, 10,181; Cox, 8,538; Kerr, 7,303; Tomlinson, 6,856.

In the new House of Commons Mr. Cox soon distinguished himself as a debater of the first rank, but possessing a 'cross bench mind' he did not readily fit into the existing party system and on several occasions he spoke and voted against the government. This caused grave dissatisfaction amongst the majority of the

1. Sir John Gorst, K.C., Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. John Burns, Lord Hugh Cecil, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gibson Bowles were amongst the number. On the other side Mr. Chamberlain spoke in defence of his proposals.

Liberals locally and shortly before the next election they decided to withdraw their support from him and to obtain another candidate. Their choice fell upon Sir John Gorst, who, it will be remembered, had been approached by the Conservative party in Preston on the retirement of Mr. Raikes in 1882 and invited to contest the seat. Sir John Gorst had been a member of that celebrated 'Fourth Party'[1] in the House of Commons, which had not only tormented Mr. Gladstone but had made the life of Sir Stafford Northcote a burden to him. Later in life, he had represented the Education Department in the House of Commons under a Conservative administration, but he had always exercised a certain independence of action and of recent years had become increasingly out of sympathy with his party until his adherence to Free Trade led him at length to sever his connection with it. The Conservatives invited Lord Stanley, who had been Postmaster General in the last government but had lost his seat at the general election, to contest the borough at the next election, and he had agreed to do so, until the death of his father and his accession to the earldom made it necessary for them to obtain another candidate. The new selection was Major George Frederick Stanley, a younger brother of the present Earl of Derby, and a colleague was found in the person of Mr. Alfred Aspinwall Tobin, K.C., recorder of Salford. The L.R.C. again adopted Mr. Macpherson, though certain speeches of a strong Socialist tinge which he had made had somewhat diminished the favour with which he had been regarded at the last election. Mr. Cox having determined to go to the poll as an independent and non-party Free Trader, there were thus five candidates for two seats. The contest was keen and long continued, but the civil war which had rent the Liberal party had crippled its energies and the presence of three Free Traders split

1. The other members were Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Mr. Arthur James Balfour.

the votes which on the previous occasion had been divided between the Liberal and Labour candidates. The Roman Catholics, too, were up in arms at the educational measures of the government, which they regarded as an attack upon their schools, while the Conservatives had much improved their organization and had as one of their candidates a member of a family which had been traditionally associated with the town. In view of all the circumstances it is, perhaps, not surprising that the Conservatives recaptured the representation of the borough. The polling took place on January 17th and the result was as follows:—Stanley, 9,526; Tobin, 9,160; Macpherson, 7,539; Gorst, 6,281; Cox, 2,704.

The election we have just described had been brought about by the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the Budget of 1909. The Liberal party, which was again returned in the majority, was proceeding to formulate a measure to prevent the Upper House from intermeddling with Finance Bills in the future and to restrict the exercise of its veto with respect to other legislation, when the lamented death of King Edward VII caused a truce to be proclaimed and a conference of the leaders of the government and the opposition to be held with a view to an amicable settlement of the constitutional question. This having failed it was resolved to submit the matter to the country again and parliament was accordingly dissolved. The Preston Conservatives nominated the old members, but the Liberal party and the L.R.C. were represented by new candidates. The L.R.C. adopted Mr. John Carr of Ashton-under-Lyme, a Trades Union official, while the Liberals put forward Mr. E. Hilton Young, of London, assistant editor of *The Economist*,[1] who had contested East Worcestershire against Mr. Austen Chamberlain at the last general election.

Owing to the short interval elapsing between the two elections neither of the two new candidates had much

1. He has since become 'City Editor' of *The Morning Post*.

time to make the acquaintance of the electors, but notwithstanding this handicap it was found, when the election took place, that they had very materially reduced the Conservative majority. The result of the polling was declared to be:—Stanley, 9,184; Tobin, 8,993; Young, 8,193; Carr, 7,853.

Having thus traced the parliamentary representation of the borough down to the last general election, there now remains the duty of considering why Preston, which was predominantly Whig, Radical, or Liberal in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, should have become so Conservative in the process of time that from 1859 till 1906 its members were always of that political colour. The problem is a difficult one and it is possible that we are too close to it to be able to solve it in a complete and unprejudiced manner: it is consequently with some hesitation that we venture to point out what appear to be the causes that were instrumental in bringing this about.

In the first place the Radicalism of Preston was probably never very deep or very wide spread, and its solitary electoral success may be set down as a fluke. We do not believe that the views that are associated with the names of Major Cartwright, Horne Tooke, Cobbett and Hunt were held to any very large extent in the borough, and we prefer to think that it was the action of the Whigs and the Tories, in entering into an alliance to divide the representation between them, that induced the malcontents to turn to that small group of politicians, who stood outside the main political parties and offered the only available alternative to them. It is at any rate significant that no single one of the Radical candidates was a local man and that they only appeared on the eve of an election, being imported apparently as and when occasion demanded. On the other hand, as has already been said, the accident that the electoral basis of the town was manhood suffrage would in its turn be very likely to attract the attention of these individuals as

furnishing them with a working model of their favourite constitutional reform, thus accounting for the ease with which candidates were obtained to fight the powerful combination that regulated the representation of the town, and, when that had disappeared, to pit themselves against the Whigs and the Liberals. These early Radicals were fluent speakers and men of considerable ability, and their picturesque personalities must have afforded a piquant contrast to their somewhat humdrum opponents, but they were too far in advance of their times to command the confidence of the voters, while they were unable to offer those material inducements to support them which were lavishly given by the other side.

A much more potent influence in Preston was that of the family of the Stanleys. Their eminent position in the county and the country at large, their long continued connection with the town, the property which they possessed in it, and the wealth which they used so freely to influence the electorate, enabled them to make Preston practically a pocket borough for nearly forty years, and even when the growth of the factory system compelled them to admit the presence of a pretender near the throne, it probably still left them the most powerful single political force in the constituency. With the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 the Whig party, of which the Stanleys were adherents, began to undergo a process of change. The majority adopted reforming views and became known as Liberals: the minority, alarmed at the attacks that were being made on existing institutions, joined the Conservatives. In this minority was that Edward Geoffrey Stanley, whom Hunt had defeated. He was a member of the administration of the day having been appointed Secretary of State for Ireland, but the proposals of the government, contained in the Irish Church Bill of 1833 and the Tithe Bill of 1834, ran counter to his views of the sanctity of church property and he resigned. Shortly afterwards he joined the

Conservative party, which he subsequently led with brilliance if not with discretion, and imparted the politics of his later life to his descendants. It is, of course, impossible to estimate the exact effect of this change upon the electors of Preston, but no one can doubt that many of them must have followed his lead, and that more would have done so, had not the resentment of the family at his defeat in 1830 led them partially to boycott the town. The Liberals obtained some sort of compensation for this turn over in the action of Hesketh-Fleetwood, who after being returned by the Conservatives and holding the seat for five years seceded to the Liberals. The confusion that this naturally caused was in all probability responsible for the success of the Liberal party at the elections from 1841 to 1859.

Some influences were at work also that were not purely local. Before the passing of the Reform Act in 1832 it was natural for those boroughs in which there was a popular franchise to return Whigs. The people had been crushed almost to the earth with the burdens of a long and exhausting war and on its termination the expected fall in the price of bread was prevented by the passing of the Corn Laws in the interests of the landed classes. The social and economic upheaval, known as the Industrial Revolution, which was occasioned by the introduction of the factory system, the dislocation of industry by machinery and the movement of the people to the towns was only accomplished with tears and suffering. The poverty and misery in which a large section of the community lived vented itself in outbursts here and there, which it was attempted to stifle by repressive legislation. The country seethed with discontent and, where it had an opportunity, shewed its contempt for Lord Liverpool and the other Tory mediocrities, who controlled our destinies in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and turned to the Whigs (who were beginning to be known as Liberals) and to the Radicals. The weakness of the Radicals, a weakness that was

shared to some extent by the Liberals, lay in the fact that they attached too much importance to reforms of political machinery and paid too little attention to the condition of the people. They confused the means with the end and regarded the franchise as a panacea for all ills. They were unable to see that even if they had been granted, neither manhood suffrage nor the whole of 'the five points' for which the Chartists contended would have relieved the misery or lightened the gloom in which the majority of the inhabitants of this country lived. The abolition of class and sectarian privileges which the Liberals took in hand was undoubtedly required by the spirit of the age, but the emancipation of the Jews, the Roman Catholics and the Nonconformists did not add one penny to the wages of the operative or the labourer, or lessen the wretchedness of his home. Something certainly was done in the realm of taxation. The gradual removal from the tariff of numberless small and vexatious imposts, which scarcely paid for the cost of their collection —a process that will always be associated with the name of Gladstone—increased and promoted foreign trade, and the abolition of the Corn Laws, which was forced upon Sir Robert Peel by the arguments of Bright and Cobden made food cheaper and thus lightened the lot of the poor. Further advance however was checked by the prevalence of *laissez faire* views. These were the palmy days of utilitarianism and individualism. Government interference had so often been exercised in the past, either for stupid or selfish reasons or in the interests of a class and with unforeseen or disastrous results, that a not unnatural reaction had taken place, and, according to the current doctrine, all state intervention was an evil and prosperity was only to be obtained by allowing men to pursue their own interests in a world of unrestricted competition.

Meanwhile a new school of political thought was growing up which was associated with the name of Benjamin Disraeli and was known as the Young

England party. Disraeli gibed at a Conservative administration as merely meaning Tory men and Whig measures, and taught a new Conservatism in which the power of the crown was to be strengthened and the influence of the church to be promoted in order that they might come to the relief of the common people.[1] The Young England party soon fell to pieces and Disraeli himself departed somewhat from the romantic ideals of his youth, but he continued to teach a democratic Toryism which differed widely from the cold and cautious Conservatism of Peel. The split in the Conservative party over the abolition of the Corn Laws gave him his opportunity. The brilliance with which he fought the Protectionist battle until convinced of the uselessness of further struggle secured him a position of unrivalled influence. He devoted himself to 'educating his party,' and the influence he had previously obtained enabled him to impose his doctrines upon them and to induce them to pass those measures of social legislation which he proposed. The success which he achieved in the House of Commons was as nothing, however, to that which he obtained out of doors. His presentation of Conservatism gave it a popularity such as it had never enjoyed since the days of the younger Pitt and so well received were his teachings by those classes whom he enfranchised by the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1868 that he was said to have 'discovered' the Conservative working man.

Further light is thrown on this transference of political power by classifying the electors according to their religious beliefs. The majority of Prestonians, nearly one half of the population, belong to the Church of England. A considerable proportion, estimated at one third, are Roman Catholics: the remainder are Nonconformists. The presence of such a relatively large number of Roman Catholics has had the usual effect of

1. See his novels *Coningsby* and *Sybil*.

producing that type of Anglicanism, which is sometimes called Protestant and sometimes styled Low Church. Its distinguishing political characteristic is a firm belief in the virtue of an established church, and a determination to resent and resist any proposals that would tend to undermine it or to remove it from its privileged position. The politics of churchmen in Preston are consequently of a Conservative or—to use a more accurate term—of a Tory type. They have an ecclesiastical bent and the political aspect of the town bears some resemblance to that of Belfast or Liverpool, though it is happily not distinguished by those exhibitions of bigotry and intolerance which have given an unpleasant notoriety to the places just mentioned. This characteristic has been fostered to some extent by the Sunday schools and the denominational day schools, which are attached to the different churches in the town. Preston was one of the few places in which no School Board was ever formed, but where the different religious sects retained the control and management of the elementary schools in their own hands until the passing of the Education Act of 1902. This policy was undoubtedly due in part to the objection to the rate which a School Board invariably levied—an objection which increased in force when the Ribble scheme proved so costly—but it had its origin in the dislike of an unsectarian form of religious teaching and in the desire to retain the schools as feeders to the churches.

Viewing the recent parliamentary history of the borough in the light of this analysis, we have come to the conclusion that it was the intense feeling excited by Mr. Gladstone's proposals for the disestablishment of the Irish church—a feeling which arrayed against him and the Liberal party nearly the whole forces of the English church—that strengthened and rendered durable in Preston the revival in Conservatism which had commenced in 1857. One of the leading local opponents of the measure was the vicar, the Revd. John Owen Parr, who is said to have been instrumental in inducing Mr.

Hermon, who was a churchman, to forsake his Liberalism and to come out as one of the Conservative candidates. As the head of the Horrockses, Miller & Co., and the largest employer of labour in the town Mr. Hermon was the strongest candidate that could have been obtained. The mantle of John Horrocks might almost be said to have fallen upon him. The effort of the Liberals to unite the Roman Catholics and Nonconformists was not entirely successful, and Mr. Hermon and Sir T. G. Fermor-Hesketh obtained great majorities, which were due in part to the strong local influence of the former but in larger part to the raising of the cry that the church was in danger! Had the Stanleys followed the majority of the Whigs and become Liberals, and retained unbroken their connection with the borough, it is possible that their influence, though much weaker than it formerly was, might have been strong enough to counteract the Toryism of the borough, but their weight was thrown into the opposite scale, thus almost reproducing the old combination that had ruled the town from 1802 to 1826.

The revival of Liberalism and the rise and growth of the Labour party in the town in recent years, together with the introduction of a different set of problems, combine to make the political future of the borough uncertain. Into that future however, we shall not attempt to pry: what it may contain we shall make no effort to foretell. That must be left to the prophet: our rôle is the humbler one of historian.

CHAPTER IX.

Ecclesiastical History from the Reformation.

After the dean and canons of St. Mary Newark had received the gift of the church of Preston from Henry IV they probably continued to appoint the vicars until the college was dissolved in the reign of Edward VI, when both advowson and rectory would revert to the crown in the right of the Duchy of Lancaster. While they were possessed of the rectory, it would appear that they were in the habit of leasing the tithes and these leases and subsequent underleases were a fruitful source of strife and litigation in which Osbaldestons, Singletons, Hoghtons, Hesketh, and others kept the Duchy Court busy with their claims and counterclaims.[1] At length the rectory was granted to Sir Richard Hoghton in 1607,[2] but the family would seem to have been in possession of it as 'farmers' in 1589, if not earlier.[3]

As for the advowson or right of presentation to the vicarage it also eventually came into the hands of the Hoghtons. When they first became possessed of it we do not know, but it must have been some time between 1592 and 1604, for John Paler, who became vicar in the latter year, is stated to have been nominated by a Robert Parker, who had obtained the presentation from Sir Richard Hoghton. In the interval that elapsed between the passing of the advowson to the crown and the acquisition of it by the Hoghtons, the right of presentation was exercised by a variety of persons who had probably obtained it by purchase. We find that immediately

1. Smith, *Records*, 13–19.

2. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1603–10, 381.

3. See a presentment of the church-wardens made on November 12th, 1589, printed by the Revd. B. Nightingale in the *Preston Guardian*, October 29th, 1909, and *Kenyon MSS.*, 601.

before the appointment of Paler, the Bold family of North Meols presented on three successive occasions.[1] This almost looks as if they had bought the advowson outright and not merely the right of next presentation. If that was so, it must have been from them and not from the crown that the Hoghtons acquired it.

Under these circumstances we are not surprised that the clergy were an undistinguished set of men of whom little is known. The scantiness of our information is the more disappointing, as this was the period of the Reformation in religion which was a critical time for the county as well as for the country. It is a fact, which has still to be satisfactorily explained, that Lancashire was less affected by this movement than any other county in England, and that, after making allowance for the later influx of Irish into the manufacturing towns, it still contains a greater proportion of Roman Catholics than other counties. The backward state of this part of the country, its inaccessibility, and the adverse effect of the dissolution of the monasteries upon the growth and prosperity of the county may all have played their parts in preventing Lancashire from following the rest of the country, and may account for the fact that though the Stanleys, who had become the leading family in the county, accepted the Elizabethan settlement, yet a very large number of the country gentlemen remained faithful to 'the old religion.'

How slow the people of Preston were to fall in with the new ways may be seen from the complaint of Nicholas Daniel, a Fellow of the collegiate church of Manchester and vicar of Preston from 1572 to 1580. Daniel was a Puritan and a zealous reformer: his curate William Wall was a person of immoral life and, at the most, a lukewarm Protestant. The vicar poured out his grievances

1. They appointed Nicholas Daniel, 1572—1580, Thomas Wall, 1580—1592, (probably one of the Preston family of that name), and William Sawrey, 1592—1604. Smith, *Records*, 41–45, and Fishwick, *History*, 178–179

to the bishop and alleged that, instead of a communion table, there was 'an old altar whereon an C (100) masses have been sayde to song' and that many swine's troughs were better than the pulpit. His curate followed the old custom of putting the sacrament into the mouths of the communicants and took no action against those who had their children christened 'at ye hands of ould priests in houses.' The parish clerk, he declared to be 'a Popish boy' who never appeared in the church except to play the organ on Sundays, when 'such a noyse they made yt no man understood a word they singe.' The answers of the curate and the clerk are given, but they only serve to confirm our suspicion that the vicar's complaints were well founded.[1]

Further evidence of the persistence of the old religion in the borough is found in connection with the case of Nicholas Banastre, who was a priest attached to the chantry of the Virgin in the parish church and schoolmaster of Preston. Strype describes him as an 'unlearned schoolmaster' and a rank Jesuit. In spite of that, he was still recognized as the schoolmaster in 1561, though he had been declared to be a Recusant and confined to the county of Lancashire, 'the town of Preston excepted' and six or seven years later, when William Downham, Bishop of Chester, was ordered to visit the diocese to see that no 'obstinate person having been justly deprived of offices of ministry be secretly maintained,' he found that Banastre had been received into the houses of several people.[2]

Again in 1585 we find another priest, bearing the same well known Preston surname, 'presented' for celebrating mass at the house of William Charnock at Fulwood,[3]

1. Smith, *Records*, 41–45.

2. Fishwick, *History*, 207. Nicholas Banastre was probably a Prestonian, see *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., IX, 16.

3. Fishwick, *History*, 112.

while other instances could be adduced to show that the progress of the Reformation in this parish was slow and partial, as compared with that made in the rest of the country.

It cannot be too often insisted that the Reformation in England, whether in or out of the county, was not the sudden imposition of a brand new religion, called Protestantism, in the place of the old doctrines and practices, but a gradual process of change, of action and reaction, spread over a period of some fifty years.[1] That change probably took longer to effect in Preston than in other parts of the country, but here as elsewhere there were outward and visible signs that a new era had arrived.

One of these was the creation of a new bishopric of Chester in 1541,—one of six sees that were created and endowed out of the property obtained on the dissolution of the monasteries. The new diocese was formed by taking the archdeaconry of Chester out of the diocese of Lichfield and uniting with it the archdeaconry of Richmond in the diocese of York. For a time it formed part of the southern province of Canterbury, but it was almost immediately transferred to York, to which, indeed, it more naturally belonged.

Another sign was the disappearance of certain subsidiary local religious establishments. The chantry of the Virgin (that has just been mentioned), and another chantry, that of the Holy Rood or Crucifix, were both abolished in 1547, under the Act of 1545, which gave Henry VIII power to suppress chantries and free chapels. Both the chantries were in the parish church and were small altars where priests sang masses for the repose of the souls of the founders, and were paid for their services by the rents of the property with which the chantries were endowed. Even those people who saw with grief monasteries despoiled and their lands seized

1. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 4th Series, 285.

by the crown, or parcelled out amongst the new nobility, had little to say in defence of institutions of this class, for the mass-priests, whom they supported, were frequently parasites on the ecclesiastical system and extremely lazy, if nothing worse. However, this was not always the case, for they sometimes acted as assistants or curates to the parish priest, or, as in Preston, they taught in the local school and were useful members of the community.

The older of the Preston chantries, that of the Holy Rood, was founded by Sir Richard Hoghton in the first half of the fourteenth century for the peculiar benefit of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors and heirs, and when it was dissolved its endowments were found to amount to the annual sum of £5. 1s. 8d.[1] The other chantry, dedicated to the Virgin, was also a Hoghton foundation, but on less selfish and more useful lines. It was established some time in the second half of the fifteenth century by Helen, the widow of Henry Hoghton, and was endowed with property in Preston and the neighbourhood, the yearly income from which the chantry commissioners valued at £3. 2s. 4d. The priest was to celebrate mass not only for the soul of the foundress, but for all other Christian souls, and in addition was to be sufficiently learned in grammar to the intent that there might be a free grammar school kept there also.[2] According to the statement of defence of the mayor and burgesses in an action brought against them in 1522, the successive priests of this chantry had in days past diligently performed their duties but it was alleged that Roger Lewyns, who was then in possession would neither keep the free school nor do other (divine) service.[3] Nicholas Banastre, whom we have already mentioned, was the last of the line of priests of this chantry.

With the chantries there also fell the free chapel and

1. *Lancashire Chantries*, Chetham Society, O.S., LX, 202–204.
2. *Ibid.*, 205–207.
3. Smith, *Records*, 232.

hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. As leprosy had ceased to exist in England when Henry VIII came to the throne, the hospital of the lepers had outlived its usefulness. In the fourteenth century it was renowned beyond the borders of the borough and pilgrimages were made to it, as we learn from the petition of Henry, Duke of Lancaster in 1355, in which he requested the Pope to grant a relaxation of penance to those, who made such visits on the principal feast-days of the year and on those of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Thomas of Canterbury.[1] But by the middle of the next century the office of warden of the free chapel would seem to have become a sinecure, and in 1524 the building itself was said to be 'in greate ruen and dekey.'[2] The endowment of the chapel consisted of lands in Preston and Broughton, the annual value of which, according to the Chantry Commissioners, amounted to £5. 12s. 8.[3] Shortly before its dissolution, Thomas Todgyll, the litigious warden of the Grey Friars, attempted, apparently without success, to obtain possession of a close of land forming part of the possessions of the chapel. After its dissolution, the Maudlands, as it was called, was acquired by John Dodyngton and William Ward of London, who subsequently sold it to Thomas Fleetwood of Penwortham.

The chantries and the free chapel had been predeceased by another religious institution, the convent of the Grey Friars. When the two great orders of friars, the Grey Friars of St. Francis and the Black Friars of St. Dominic, first appeared in this country in the thirteenth century, they were men of great religious zeal. Barefooted and clad in a coarse robe tied about them with a rope, they begged and preached their way through England and were received with enthusiasm wherever

1. *Cal. Papal Petitions*, I, 1342—1419, 271. For the result, see *Cal. Papal Letters*, III, 1342—1362, 562.

2. Smith, *Records*, 238.

3. *Lancashire Chantries*, Chetham Society, O.S., LX, 211.

they went. Like the Salvation Army of the present day, they devoted themselves especially to the poor of the large towns, and the simplicity of their lives, their homely eloquence and their real piety spread their influence until it overshadowed that of the older orders and of the parish clergy. Later, they became great scholars and teachers raising the reputation of the University of Oxford to a high pitch, but later still corruption crept in, and their laxity of life became the theme of the satirist and ballad monger of the day. The convent of the Grey Friars in Preston was the only one of that order in Lancashire,[1] and was in the Franciscan province of Worcester. Its situation we know. It was built on or near land belonging to the Prestons of Preston, about two hundred yards to the west of Friargate Brow on the way to the Marsh, and until recently part of the walls could be seen about midway between Lower Pitt Street and the Preston and Lancaster canal. But save and except that it is recorded that the brethren were ordered in 1291 to preach the Seventh Crusade, and that we have a list of endowments for 'diriges' and 'trentals,' its history is almost blank, until it was dissolved in 1540.[2] Then the reports of two cases introduce us to Thomas Todgyll, the last warden, who was accused of misappropriating trust property, and show us the usual scramble and litigation taking place between the greedy claimants for the property of the dissolved institution.[3] Eventually the ruined friary passed into the hands of a family, who made it their dwelling place and were in consequence known as 'Breres of the Freres'; and finally early in the seventeenth century it underwent another transformation and became a House of Correction.[4]

1. The Black Friars had a house at Lancaster and the Austin Friars one at Warrington.

2. *Victoria County History, Lancashire,* II, 162.

3. Smith, *Records,* 238–241.

4. Hewitson, *Preston Court Leet Records,* 65, n. 1.

In the reign of James I we meet with James Martin, who obtained the benefice in 1621, on the presentation of one of the Hoghtons, who by this time had got possession of both the advowson and the rectory. Two years later, on a variety of charges, he was deprived of the living, which it was insinuated he had secured by simony. In 1633 he makes his piteous wail to the Archbishop of York in a most interesting document, in which he levels accusations against Bishop Bridgeman of Chester, Sir Gilbert Hoghton (the son of his patron), and some nine of the leading townsmen of the day. After his deprivation he fell into debt, was lodged in Lancaster castle by his creditors, and was reduced to such extremity that he alleges that his wife and child were starved to death in the streets. William Lemon, 'the ringleader of my adversaries,' and the other townsmen he roundly accuses of Puritanism and of supporting schismatics and conventicles. As we shall see, it is more than likely, and not antecedently improbable, that this part of the accusation was founded on fact; for the persistence of the Roman Catholic form of religion in Preston and the neighbourhood would very probably have the result of bringing into activity that Puritan element of the population, which desired a more sweeping change than Elizabeth and her counsellors were prepared to sanction. We are, however, bound to view the whole of the statement with a good deal of caution, as it seems only too clear, alike from internal and external evidence, that the various proceedings, that had been required to expel the unfortunate man from his benefices, had had the result of unsettling his intellect.[1]

We have definite evidence only a few years later of the strength of the Puritan movement in the borough, in a petition to Archbishop Laud, in which it is stated that at Preston 'all the orders of the church go down the wind,

1. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1633–34, 7, and Fishwick, *History*, 179–183.

for they call surplices the rags of Rome, and they will suffer no organs, nor sign no children with the sign of the cross when they are christened, and the altars are pulled down.'[1] This was in 1637. In the previous year, the vicar, James Starkie, had been called before the court of High Commission and admonished.[2] His offence is not stated, but we shall not be violating the probabilities, if we assume that the petition and the admonition had some relation to each other.

When the Long Parliament assembled in 1640, the Puritan party in England was composed of two groups, united in opposing the existing state of affairs but differing considerably amongst themselves. It included not only those of whom we have spoken, who, while conforming to the doctrines and observances of the English church, were yet anxious for a simplification of ritual, but a number of separatist bodies the chief of which were the Congregationalists or Independents, who differed from the established church on points of church government and doctrine. Amongst the causes of the 'Great Rebellion' the religious controversy was almost, if not quite, as important as the constitutional. The high handed methods of Laud and the court of High Commission were bitterly resented by all Puritans, amongst whom were many Anglicans: on the other hand, the attempt to modify episcopacy in a Presbyterian direction and to deal in a 'Root and Branch' method with the church rallied the moderates to the side of Charles I.

Isaac Ambrose, the next vicar of Preston, was a Puritan.[3] He was the son of Richard Ambrose, vicar of

1. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1636–37, 26.

2. *Ibid.*, 1635–36, 485.

3. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, I, 350–51; Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (ed. by Palmer, 1802), II, 362; and Fishwick, *History of Garstang*, Chetham Society, O.S., CIV: but the best account of Ambrose's career is to be found in a series of articles written by the Revd. B. Nightingale in the *Preston Guardian*, on July 29th, August 5th and 12th, 1905.

Ormskirk, and when only 27 years of age was appointed one of the king's four preachers for Lancashire, an important office which was originally created to combat the doctrines of Romanism. In 1640, either on the appointment or owing to the influence of Lady Margaret Hoghton, the wife of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, he obtained the vicarage of Preston.

Owing to its necessities in the struggle against the king, the English parliament entered into a treaty with the Scots in 1643, whereby the latter agreed to send their army to the help of the parliament, and the parliament on its side agreed to adopt Presbyterianism. This accordingly became the state religion of the day. Bishops were abolished and the Directory substituted for the Prayer Book, while a committee of the House of Commons, called 'The Committee for the relief of Plundered Ministers,' acted as a sort of ecclesiastical commission. It was further attempted to set up the system of synods and classical presbyteries, but this was only carried out completely in a few counties. Amongst these was Lancashire, which, in 1646, was divided into nine classical presbyteries of which the parishes of Preston, Kirkham, Garstang and Poulton constituted the seventh. These classes were duly formed and five of them are known to have ordained ministers, but unfortunately the records of the proceedings of all of them, except Manchester and Bury, have been lost. They were grouped together to form a Provincial Synod which met regularly at Preston every half year until the Restoration.[1]

Though Presbyterianism seems to have flourished in Lancashire it never obtained any hold on the country at large, and when the formation of the 'New Model' army

1. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640—1660*, II, 30–31, 397. The minutes of the Manchester and Bury Classes have been published and form Vols. XX, XXII, XXIV, XXXVI, and XXXVII of the Chetham Society publications.

made the help of the Scots no longer necessary, it was doomed. After this time the real power in the state passed from the parliament to the army, which was mainly composed of Independents, who, believing in the autonomy of each local congregation were opposed to the imposition of any universal or national system. Under the Independents, for the first time in our history, there was practical toleration for all except Roman Catholics, the only thing required of the clergy being that they should be godly men of sufficient learning and ability. Ambrose fulfilled these requirements, but for reasons which are only imperfectly known he was far from happy at Preston and welcomed the opportunity of becoming vicar of Garstang, whither he departed in 1654 or early in 1655 and remained until driven out under the provisions of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, when he returned to live in Preston where he resided until his death in January, 1664. It is unfortunate that the diary which he kept is only known to us by a few extracts, as the spiritual and temporal experiences of a man who had lived through these troublous times, who had seen the monarchy give place to republicanism, and that in turn overthrown by a military despotism, and who had taken an active part in the theological changes of the period, would have been of supreme interest and would have added largely to our knowledge of local and national history. From what remains of his writings, we may, however, judge that all these turmoils were most distasteful to him, and that he was never so happy as when spending his time in quiet meditation and communion with God by the banks of the Darwen, as it flowed past the home of his patroness at Hoghton Tower, or in the solitude of Woodacre Wood. And though he would appear to have neglected to keep the parish registers, we may yet believe the testimony of the Parliamentary Commissioners that he was a 'painefull minister,'[1] who took 'pains' to perform the duties of his office.

1. *Commonwealth Church Survey*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec Soc., I. 146.

The surviving records of the Select Vestry of Preston date from this period, and commence on the 1st day of January, 1645.[1] In this parish the Vestry, (or, as it was called, the 'Four and twenty gentlemen'), was 'select,' not by virtue of any statute or faculty but by custom, and was of a type which appears in isolated instances all over England, but was generally prevalent only in the cities of London, Westminster and Bristol and the northern counties.[2] The 'Four and twenty' of Preston, however, differed from other similar bodies, in that the members were divided into three separate groups of eight, representing a threefold division of the parish into 'Preston town' (or the 'middle part'), the 'upper end,' and 'the lower end.'

The first division calls for no comment. 'The upper end' comprised the townships of the north and east, Elston, Grimsargh, Ribbleton and Fishwick. Broughton, Barton and Haighton, which would naturally have been included in this division are—curiously enough—never represented amongst the 'Four and twenty.' The explanation seems to be that a church or chapel had existed at Broughton for a long time prior to this, certainly from the year 1460,[3] and the chapelry had apparently obtained some measure of independence and self government, though it was still claimed in 1708 by the 'Four and twenty' that it was liable to repair a certain specified length of the walls and fences of the

1. The Minute Books of the Select Vestry have been examined by the writer, but he has been much helped in preparing the following account of this body by an interesting pamphlet on the subject written by Mr. A. T. Houghton, the present Vestry Clerk, and entitled, *The present position of the Select Vestry of the Parish of Preston: its powers and duties*, and by the copious extracts from the Minutes which appear in Smith's *Records*.

2. Webb, *English Local Government*, I, 174, and n. 12. There were 'Four and twenties' at the following places in Lancashire: Lancaster, Garstang, Poulton, St. Michael's-on-Wyre, Ribchester. Goosnargh, Dalton and Cartmel, while there was a 'Thirty' at Kirkham.

3. Fishwick, *History*, 128.

parish churchyard.[1] Early in the eighteenth century they established a Select Vestry of their own, somewhat after the style of that of Preston, with twelve men from Broughton, eight from Barton and four from Haighton, who settled the poor rate, passed the churchwardens' accounts and acted in every way as the Select Vestry of a parish, though the district was not formally so constituted until 1877.[2] The curacy of Broughton, like the vicarage of Preston, was in the gift of the Hoghtons until they parted with the advowson in 1867.

'The lower end' consisted of the hamlets of Ashton, Lea, Ingol and Cottam.

Until 1743 the town was invariably represented by the mayor and the seven aldermen his brethren, but after that date other members of the corporation were appointed and were not necessarily aldermen[3]: the eight from 'the lower end' were appointed in writing by the head of the Hoghton family for the time being, as lord of the manor of Lea,[4] and those from 'the upper end' were self elected and filled vacancies in their number by a process of co-option. This curiously constituted body, which was presided over by the mayor, instead of the vicar (as we might have expected),[5] has had a continuous existence down to the present time, though since 1770 it has been known by the name of the Select Vestry, instead of by its more ancient and more honourable title. It appointed the churchwardens (of whom there were six, two for each division),[6] the sidesmen and the vestry clerk,

1. Minute of April 5th, 1708.
2. Fishwick, *History*, 140.
3. Houghton, *The present position*, &c., 16.
4. Minute of December 22nd, 1831.
5. Houghton, *The present position*, &c., 12–14, and Minute of December 18th, 1821.
6. *Ibid.*, 14–15. Though the creation of new ecclesiastical parishes has lopped off 'the upper end' and 'the lower end' as well as a large portion of 'Preston town,' until the parish of Preston at the present day merely consists of a small area in the immediate vicinity of the

but the offices of parish clerk, sexton and beadle appear to have been in the hands of the patron[1]: it laid the church rate, controlled its expenditure and supervised the wardens' accounts: it maintained, altered and repaired the church, the pews and the bells: it fixed the church dues and the vicar's fees: it directed legal proceedings to be taken: it appointed or, more strictly speaking, nominated the Supervisors of Highways and the Overseers of the Poor[2]: it was the burial authority for the parish and at different times built a charnel house,[3] provided a hearse[4] and bought land for a churchyard. Nowadays, it has lost or ceased to use nearly all its powers, except those of appointing the churchwardens and passing their accounts.

The functions of maintaining and repairing the church and controlling the officers have passed to the vicar, assisted by the churchwardens and a popularly elected council. Since the civil remedies for recovering church rates were abolished by statute in 1868,[5] this method of raising money has fallen into desuetude. The nomination of Supervisors of Highways and Overseers of the Poor ceased in 1747, and the control of the churchyards

1. Minutes of March 25th, 1747, and April 5th, 1825.
2. Houghton, *The present position* &c., 8, and Webb, *English Local Government*, I, 111–112.
3. Minute of April 20th, 1674.
4. Minute of March 27th, 1749.
5. 31 and 32 Vict., c. 109.

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church, the old number of six wardens is still retained. In recent times it has been customary for the Vestry to appoint the wardens of St. Michael's Church, Grimsargh, and St. Andrew's Church, Ashton, to those other places which were formerly filled by representatives from 'the upper end' and 'the lower end,' it being always understood, however, that these latter shall hold their offices passively and not interfere in the management of the affairs of the parish.

The wardens' accounts are given in detail from 1749 and show some interesting items, such as payments for clothes for the beadle, for new stocks, and for fox heads.

was taken away and vested in a Burial Board, which was formed on the passing of the Burial Act of 1853.[1] When we have further mentioned that it was (and still remains) a close body, that it excluded the vicar and the churchwardens from its meetings, that the country districts were jealous of the town and unwilling to pay their share of maintaining and repairing a church, which was so far distant from them, and that in process of time these districts were all formed into separate parishes, we have clearly shown the causes of the decay of an institution which was for a long period the local governing body of a wide area.

No doubt it was in many ways preferable to the large open vestry meetings of the inhabitants, whose conduct disgraced so many parishes: and though we are now unable to decide whether its administration was always wise and prudent, its records at any rate show that it was far from being inactive. Like other vestries all over England it has ceased to be a unit of local government. Chiefly, we believe, on account of its undemocratic character, it has not even retained its position as a committee for the transaction of church business.

After this digression we return to the chronological history of the church and its vicars. After the death of Sir Gilbert Hoghton in 1647, the family had become Presbyterians,[2] and the successors of Ambrose, namely, George Thomasson and William Cole, who were appointed on the presentation of Sir Richard Hoghton exhibited to the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, were in unison with their patron's views.

Ambrose was instituted to Garstang on September 1st, 1654, and Thomasson was admitted to Preston on July 2nd, 1657,[3] so that there is a period of nearly three years

1. 16 and 17 Vict., c. 134.

2. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, 66–77.

3. *Plundered Ministers' Accounts*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., XXXIV, 189.

during which the parish would seem to have been without a vicar. The Revd. Mr. Nightingale has attempted to fill this hiatus by suggesting that William Brownsword, a graduate of Cambridge University and at one time minister at Douglas chapel, held the living during this vacancy, but we do not understand him to claim that Brownsword was ever instituted and the evidence does not prove anything more than that he was a lecturer.[1] Early in 1659 he was appointed vicar of Kendal and shortly after his removal the Preston corporation in granting him the freedom of the borough expressly refer to him as 'formerly Lecturer in this Towne,' whereas they would almost certainly have styled him vicar if he had held the living. He remained at Kendal until his death and wrote vigorously in defence of the Act of Uniformity and fulminated against Quakerism, in which, like other pamphleteers of the day, he fancied he detected 'popery.'[2]

George Thomasson only stayed here a few months and then removed to Heywood from whence he was ejected after the Restoration. According to Calamy, he was 'a diligent, laborious preacher, who earnestly longed for the good of souls, and was very useful in promoting it.'[3]

Somewhere about this time the living was offered to one of the most distinguished Puritan ministers of the day, Oliver Heywood,[4] a native of Little Lever, near Bolton, who was then ministering at Coley in Yorkshire. The offer was a good one, as the living was said to be worth about £100 a year, and that Heywood was not unaware of its advantages is obvious from the following

1. *Preston Guardian*, April 9th, 1910.

2. *Ibid.* There is an account of him in *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, II, 22–24. He is mentioned also in Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, II, 18, where he is called Brownsword.

3. Fishwick, *History*, 185; *Preston Guardian*, April 23rd, 1910; and Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 364.

4. For Heywood, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVI, 334.

description which he gives of the position and the people:—'They are a rich, numerous and intelligent congregation; there is a pleasant situation, comfortable accommodation, abundant maintenance assured thee during life, discipline comfortably established, and the Lord's Supper duly administered; the place also is near some of thy dear relations in the ministry, and many faithful ministers whose praise is in all the churches, and whose society may be helpful to thee. Besides, thou hast a clear call on all hands, the unanimous invitation of the serious people without opposition from the rest, the full and free donation of it by the worthy patron, and encouragement by some neighbouring ministers.'[1] After consulting his father-in-law the Revd. John Angier, he decided, however, to refuse the offer and to stay at Coley.

William Cole, who followed Thomasson, was a Cambridge graduate who had previously been at Kirkby Lonsdale and Newcastle-on-Tyne, and came to Preston from the latter place. He was admitted to the living on February 10th, 1658,[2] and held the cure until some time in 1662. During his incumbency the Restoration was accomplished and the Cavalier parliament proceeded to enact those statutes which because they were inspired by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, are sometimes known as 'the Clarendon code.' The only one of these statutes to which we need to refer is the Act of Uniformity,[3] which came into force on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1662, and required 'every parson, vicar or other minister whatsoever' to declare his 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book intituled The Book of Common Prayer,' and laid down that no form or order

1. *Heywood's Works*, (edit. by Rev. Richard Slate, 1827), I, 69.

2. *Plundered Ministers' Accounts*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., XXXIV, 216. Cole was a correspondent of Henry Newcome, see *Newcome's Diary*, Chetham Society, O.S., XVII, passim.

3. 13 and 14 Car., II, c. 4.

of Common Prayers, Administration of Sacraments, Rights or Ceremonies should be used in any church or chapel except what was prescribed and appointed by that Book. This Act was directed not only against the sects, like the Independents and the Baptists, but against that large body of persons, both clergy and laity, who desired or had adopted a modification of the organization, the ritual or the doctrine of the Anglican church. It included, for instance, all those clergy who had approved the alteration in church government and the substitution of the Directory for the Prayer Book made necessary by the parliament's adoption of Presbyterianism. Hitherto, the latter had not separated themselves from the church in which they had been brought up, but on this day of evil omen for religious liberty some two thousand clergy were deprived of their livings, because their consciences would not permit them to make the declaration required by the Act. This was one of the most unfortunate things ever done by a reactionary parliament, as the result of the Act was to drive out of the fold of the English communion a large number of godly and educated men, to harden and accentuate the differences that had previously existed, and definitely to create Nonconformity.

How did this Act affect Preston and its vicar? Calamy says that Cole was ejected but that he afterwards conformed and was appointed to a lectureship at Dedham in Essex.[1] It is true that, in 1663, he appears as vicar of that place and Fishwick consequently thinks it unlikely that he was ejected from Preston, while the Revd. Mr. Nightingale inclines to a view, which may be said to be a compromise between those already stated, namely, that knowing what was coming he withdrew, preferring to conform to the Act in some place where his action would not be in violent contrast with his previous conduct and

1. Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 362. While both Ambrose and Cole expressed their willingness to use the Prayer Book, the latter declared that it was his *Ne plus ultra.*

professions.[1] Before coming here Cole had married Grace, the daughter of William Jenkinson, a Preston draper, and after his death his widow returned to her native town. Like William Brownsword he was a vigorous opponent of the Quakers and wrote more than one pamphlet against them.

The next occupant of the benefice was Thomas Stanhope, M.A., who was instituted to the living on February 14th, 1663, and doubtless owed his preferment to the fact that he had married a daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton. He only remained here for a short time, and after a vacancy of four months, he was succeeded on December 7th, 1663, by Seth Bushell of Cuerden, near Preston, a doctor of divinity.[2] In 1650 Bushell had been incumbent of Euxton, and had received an excellent character from the Parliamentary Commissioners as 'a godly preachinge Minister and conformable to the present government.'[3] In Preston the 'Four and twenty' bore practical, if ungrammatical, testimony to his work, for they resolved that as the 'sallery and dues to the minister, Mr. Bushell, is inconsiderable consideringe his paynes,' the churchwardens should pay for the bread and wine consumed at Communion on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter Day, so long as he was the vicar.[4] Here he remained until 1682, when he became vicar of Lancaster, from which place there comes a third witness to give evidence in his favour, in the person of William Stout, a worthy member of the Society of Friends, who describes him as 'a person of a moderate disposition, who much discouraged persecution for religion or prosecution of any of his parish for what was customary due, and very courteous to dissenters of all denominations, so that none of his parishioners were troubled by him.'[5]

1. *Preston Guardian*, April 23rd, 1910.
2. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, VIII, 35.
3. *Commonwealth Church Survey*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., I, 102.
4. Smith, *Records*, 62.
5. *Autobiography*, 12.

He was married three times, firstly, to a daughter of Roger ffarington of Leyland, secondly, to Mary Stansfield of Euxton (by whom he had a large family), and thirdly, to the widow of Evan Wall of Preston, who survived him.

On his appointment to Lancaster, he was succeeded by a vicar who was as unpopular as his predecessor had been well liked. This was Thomas Birch, who was a son of Samuel Birch of Ardwick, near Manchester, and brother of John Birch, a colonel in the parliamentary army.[1] The bickerings between him and the corporation commenced within a year of his appointment and would seem to have continued with little intermission until his death. Birch was a pluralist, and the corporation decided to 'present' him for non-residence. The vicar however came to reside in Preston and no proceedings were instituted, or, if instituted, were dropped.[2] Subsequently, complaints were made to the Bishop of Chester, in whose diocese Preston was, but, as these were vague charges of speaking disrespectfully of the Prayer Book, and of dissenting views held by his son, and did not condescend to particulars, the Bishop very wisely refused to take any action.[3] A diarist of the period notes on one occasion that the vicar preached 'a railing sermon against ye ceremonyes of ye Church,'[4] and Colonel Lawrence Rawstorne says that he heard him preach as if he was Gomarus or Macrobius at the Synod of Dort.[5] These references probably give the key to the situation. As has been mentioned, the vicar was brother to John Birch, a colonel in the parliamentary army, and doubtless held those Calvinistic tenets, which were popular amongst the Puritans and were upheld at Dort. In the reign of Charles I there was a reaction against

1. *History of Birch Chapel*, Chetham Society, O.S., XLVII, 107, 113
2. *White Book*, August 20th, 1683, and October 24th, 1683.
3. *Local Gleanings*, Lancashire and Cheshire Rec. Soc., II, 69.
4. *Bellingham Diary*, 38.
5. *Preston Guardian*, January 23rd, 1909.

them headed by Lancelot Andrewes and others of the Arminian school, who exalted the kingly office, taught the doctrines of the real presence and the efficacy of sacraments, and laid great stress on ritual. After the Restoration these views again became popular, and it is more than likely that it was the vicar's refusal to preach and teach in accordance with them that caused the strife between himself and the corporation. Any way he successfully defied his adversaries and continued to be vicar until his death in January, 1700.

The years during which Birch was vicar of Preston were a critical and eventful period in our history. They saw an attempt made by King James II to subvert the Protestant religion and to re-establish Romanism—an attempt made in such a clumsy and tactless manner and with so little regard for the principles and prejudices of his subjects, as to unite all sections of Protestants in the country against him, with the ultimate result that he fled the country and his son-in-law and daughter reigned in his stead.

One of James's acts which excited the deepest indignation was his exercise of the royal prerogative in issuing two Declarations of Indulgence, granting liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Through the influence of the Earl of Shaftesbury a similar Declaration had been promulgated by Charles II in 1672, though it had been withdrawn in the following year owing to the dissatisfaction it had created amongst the Church party. Short as was its duration, it nevertheless had important results on the history of Nonconformity. The Act of Uniformity had severed large numbers of people from the national church, and the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act had harried them with fines and imprisonments and compelled them to meet in secret for the purpose of worshipping in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. Charles's Declaration permitted the licensing of buildings and preachers and thereby gave a fixity to Nonconformity, which its subsequent withdrawal was

powerless to alter. Under this Declaration the first place of worship for Nonconformity in Preston was set up at the house of John Frankland on May 8th, 1672, and the Revd. John Harvey, of Tockholes, was licensed to be a Presbyterian teacher there.[1]

The Declarations issued by James were received very differently. The Nonconformists had not hesitated to avail themselves of the liberty of worship granted in 1672, but believing that James's affected love of toleration merely covered a design to re-establish the Roman religion, they preferred rather to suffer the penalties of the law to promoting the king's schemes by taking advantage of the privileges held out to them. One of the first things the parliament of the next reign did was to give legal sanction to that which James had attempted to do illegally, and, while still maintaining the Test Act, and closing all civil and military offices to Nonconformists, to permit them to worship without fear of the penalties imposed by the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act and other statutes. As a result of the passing of the Toleration Act, James Jamson's house was certified and recorded as a meeting place for the Quakers of Preston, and William Holder's barn in St. John's Weind and Mrs. Mary Preston's house as meeting places for the Presbyterians of the town. [2]

After the Stewarts had been driven out and the Revolution accomplished, two great political parties came into being, who gradually trenched on the prerogative of the king and became by turns the ruling power in the state. These parties were very early known by the nicknames of Whigs and Tories. The former supported the Revolution, upheld the right of the people to depose kings and were latitudinarians in their religious views: the latter mourned over the exiled Stewarts, lamented the blow which the king had himself dealt to their doctrine of passive obedience, and were High Churchmen.

1. *Preston Guardian*, February 17th, 1906.
2. *Kenyon MSS.*, 231–232.

As might have been expected, the Nonconforming Hoghtons adopted the first set of political views, and, just as in former times they had exercised their patronage in favour of Puritans, they now allowed their appointments to the vicarage of Preston to reflect their political theories and nominated Whigs. Of these Whig vicars the first and the most noteworthy was Samuel Peploe, a member of a Shropshire family,[1] He was an active, warm-hearted and obstinate, though kindly man, and a strong opponent of the Jacobites and Roman Catholics. When the Scotch troops who had risen in support of the Old Pretender entered the town in 1715, it is said that the sturdy vicar read the usual prayer for King George I and on being threatened by one of the insurgents with instant death unless he desisted, retorted, 'Soldier, do your duty, I shall do mine,' and went on with the interrupted prayer. This incident, so the tale goes, was reported to the king, who was so delighted with his conduct that he exclaimed in his imperfect English, 'Peep-low! Peep-low! by God he shall Peep-high—he shall be a bishop!' Whether the anecdote be true or not—and the latter part certainly has the air of having been invented after the event—a bishop he eventually became, though not until eleven years afterwards. But if this promotion lingered, he did obtain the wardenship of the collegiate church of Manchester in 1718, a post which he must have found to be anything but a bed of roses, as his diocesan, Bishop Gastrell of Chester, and the Fellows of the college were Tories and High Churchmen and crossed and thwarted the warden in every conceivable way. In 1726 on the death of his opponent, he was consecrated Bishop of Chester, when he gave up his Preston benefice, and though his son Samuel Peploe the younger reigned in his stead, he naturally ceased to be so intimately connected with our history, as he was before.

1. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLIV, 352–353: *Wardens of Manchester*, Chetham Society, VI, 157–166; and Smith and Fishwick.

His episcopate was noteworthy for the large number of churches which were built, repaired or reconsecrated during his tenure of it. While he was still vicar of Preston he was responsible for the erection of two chapels in his parish, one at Grimsargh, dedicated to St. Michael, and another in the town of Preston dedicated to St. George. The objects to be served in founding the Grimsargh chapel will be best explained by quoting a letter written by the vicar to Bishop Gastrell on the 4th April, 1715. 'I beg leave to acquaint your lordship,' he writes, 'that there are three townships and part of another in this parish which lie three, four, and five miles from the church and have no other convenient place of public worship. That by this unhappy situation they have still been exposed to temptations and Popery (which is too prevalent in these parts of your Lordship's Diocese) and are thereby an easier prey to the Priests of that Communion: we having no less than six of these men in the one parish. From my first coming to this place I have wished for some hopeful remedy against this growing evil: and I hope we are now in a way for it if your Lordship please to give approbation.'[1]

Peploe also interested himself in education, founding Cadley school in 1707 and developing and extending the Preston Blue Coat school. This latter institution owed its existence to Roger Sudell, a Preston draper, who died in 1704 leaving a stable, with a hay loft over it, in Main Sprit Weind to be converted into a schoolhouse for the education of twenty-five poor children of the Church of England in reading, writing and catechism. While he was still the vicar Peploe commenced to build a school for twenty-five girls on part of the glebe lands on the north side of the town, out of moneys collected in the parish church for the use of the Charity Schools. This school which was opened on the 2nd September, 1728, and the other in Main Sprit Weind were known as Blue

1. *Notitia Cestriensis*, Chetham Society, O.S., XXII.

Coat Schools and continued until 1817, when they were united with the newly established National School.

In his vicariate there occurred, in the year 1708, what must have been a somewhat bitter dispute between the churchwardens and the 'Four and twenty gentlemen' with respect to the repair of the churchyard wall. Without the sanction of the 'Four and twenty' the churchwardens had pulled up some large stones forming a division between the street and the west end of the churchyard and had erected two large stone pillars with a 'Clap Yate and a Cover of Wood and slate ridged and tabled with hewn stone,' and made other alterations which had been very costly. The matter was eventually settled on the mediation of the vicar, and a long formal entry made in the Minute Book in which the circuit of the churchyard wall was divided into six lengths, the repair of which was respectively allotted to the town, the chapelry of Broughton, the townships of Elston and Grimsargh-cum-Brockholes, the township of Ribbleton, the township of Fishwick and 'the lower end' of the parish.[1]

The worthy bishop was married twice, his second wife being Anne Birch, the daughter of the previous vicar. He died in 1752 at the ripe age of 84.

His son and successor at Preston, Samuel Peploe the younger, was instituted in July, 1727, on the presentation of George II. In a most unblushing manner his father heaped appointments on him. He was made a prebendary of Chester cathedral, admitted to the rectory of Northenden, appointed archdeacon of Richmond and chancellor of the Chester diocese, and had conferred upon him by the king the wardenship of the Collegiate Church of Manchester on his father's resignation of the office. All these positions he continued to hold until 1743, when, his father having collated him to the rectory of Tattenhall, he resigned the Preston benefice. We are

1. Minute of April 5th, 1708.

told that he was a 'devout Christian, an able preacher and a sound divine,' but, possibly because his other offices engaged his attention, little is known of his work in Preston.[1]

The next vicar was Randal Andrews, who was presented by William Shawe of Preston, who had obtained the right of presentation for that turn only. Like his predecessors he was a Whig and, as the corporation had become Tory, he was extremely unpopular. In the stormy election of 1768 he supported the candidates of the Stanley and Hoghton families, and the Tory electioneerers did not hesitate to suggest that he had bought his benefice, was hungry for promotion and was jealous of his curate.[2]

Two years after the date of this election the roof of the church and all the pillars on the north side fell down, and it was found necessary to rebuild the nave at a cost of over £1,000. We cannot acquit the 'Four and twenty' of blame in permitting the fabric of the church to fall into such decay. Their Minutes show that for some time previously they had been aware of the dangerous condition in which it was, but they had contented themselves with passing resolutions instead of taking immediate steps to remedy it.

When Andrews died in 1782, the living was given to Humphrey Shuttleworth, a member of another branch of the family which is still resident at Gawthorpe. His tenure was marked by a great dispute between the three divisions of the parish. In reading the Minutes of the 'Four and twenty Gentlemen,' we repeatedly come across indications of dissatisfaction on the part of the outlying districts at being required to contribute to the church rate on the same terms as the borough. No

1. *Wardens of Manchester*, Chetham Society, VI, 166–171, and Smith, *Records*, 73–75.

2. Smith, *Records*, 75.

doubt they had considerable reason on their side. Even in ordinary times the upkeep of the parish church cost a large sum of money, and bore very hardly on districts which were scantily populated as compared with the town, especially so when their inhabitants were unable to make as much use of the parish church as those who lived near it. Again, though the salary of the curate, amounting to £20 a year, was always paid by the corporation, £10 of it coming out of 'the Brockhall (Brockholes) lands,' which formerly belonged to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, and the remainder of it being paid to him by the bailiffs out of the town revenues,[1] yet it is clear that this dissatisfaction must have been recognized as reasonable by the town, as for some time prior to this some of the bills presented by the churchwardens were paid by the town, and then the remaining sum shown to be owing by their accounts was divided into three. The raising of the large sum necessitated by the rebuilding of the nave probably caused this dissatisfaction to come to a head and led to the attempt which was now made to alter the allotment. The Select Vestry, as we must now call the 'Four and twenty,' evidently did not feel sufficient confidence in its powers to do this of itself, and accordingly a General Vestry of the inhabitants was convened by public notice. At this meeting, which was held on August 6th, 1790, and attended by nearly fifty of the inhabitants, it was resolved that the old mode of raising the rates for the repairs of the church ought to be varied and the following adopted, viz., the town district to contribute one half and the higher and lower districts each one quarter. This, however, did not settle the matter. Shortly afterwards the town refused to pay, applied for a mandamus and the issues involved were tried at Lancaster Assizes in 1797, when a verdict was given which established the ancient

1. *White Book*, November 6th, 1682, July 19th, 1687, and December 4th, 1717, and *Lancashire Chantries*, Chetham Society, O.S., LX, 204–5.

custom of rating the three divisions of the parishes in equal thirds.[1]

No sooner had this dispute been terminated than a fresh one broke out. Sir Henry Philip Hoghton, who was lord of the manor of Lea, claimed that his demesne lands in that township were exempt from the church rate. The basis of this claim is never stated, but we may guess that it was to the effect that as lay rector he was responsible for the maintenance and repair of the chancel, and should not be called upon to contribute to that of any other part of the church. The two churchwardens, whose duty is was to assess and raise the rate in 'the lower end' of the parish, thus found themselves short of the necessary sum and were summoned before the Vestry. The proceedings were somewhat complicated by the fact that one of the wardens was a Roman Catholic and had appointed a deputy, and that the other had died during his year of office, so that the Vestry had to deal with a deputy and an executor.[2] Not being able to obtain any satisfaction, the Vestry directed proceedings to be taken, but unfortunately there is no record to show whether this was done or what settlement was made.

As time went on the difficulty of collecting the rate increased. In 1831 it occurred to the Select Vestry that the rate in the town might be collected by the Overseers of the Poor along with the poor rates. The management of poor law matters in the town had some time previously been transferred to or acquired by a Select Vestry of the borough and the churchwardens were accordingly directed to apply to this body and endeavour to make arrangements to this end, but the records are again tantalisingly silent as to the result.[3] It cannot have been satisfactory as, only five years later, it was resolved that a petition to the House of Commons be drawn up by the

1. Minute of October 3rd, 1797.
2. Minute of November 28th, 1798.
3. Minute of April 5th, 1831.

town clerk, with the assistance and advice of the vicar, stating the situation of the parish in regard to the difficulty of collecting the parish rates.[1]

The difficulty of collecting the rate would be increased by the growth of Nonconformity in the parish, for 'passive resistance' is no new thing, but existed long before the Education Act of 1902. We have seen that after the issuing of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 and the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, certain houses were licensed as meeting houses for the use of different denominations. These houses cannot now be identified, but one chapel still exists which has been in constant use since 1716. This is the Unitarian chapel in Percy Street, which, with another chapel in Walton-le-dale, was used by a congregation of Presbyterians. At least, that was the name which the congregation would have given itself, though after the disappearance of the Presbyterian system of church government in 1659 or earlier, there was soon little to distinguish those who were nominally Presbyterians from the other large body of dissenters, the Independents. Before the chapel was built the Revd. John Parr conducted service for the two congregations at Preston and Walton, but the first regular minister was his successor the Revd. John Turner. In the course of the eighteenth century most of these so-called Presbyterian congregations became Unitarians, or, as it would have been said at the time, adopted Arian and Socinian views. The wave of theological doubt, which passed over the country at large during this century, beat with such peculiar violence against Lancashire as to obliterate nearly all those congregations in the county, whose name recalled the days when the English parliament adopted the religion of the Scots. Each particular congregation doubtless had its separate history, but so numerous were the changes that they appear rather as a part of a general

1. Minute of April, 1836.

movement than as separate instances. One authority states that in Preston the change of doctrine was due to a minister (whose name he unfortunately omits to give), who succeeded in carrying with him the trustees of the building and most of those who worshipped there. It is further stated that one of the minister's chief opponents was a young man called Roger Crane. If this is correct the change must have taken place before 1777,[1] for in that year Roger Crane was admitted into the society of Wesleyan Methodists.

The eighteenth century in England was a period of controversy and scepticism which spread their blight over all denominations, until religious apathy and spiritual stagnation became the leading characteristics of the religious bodies of the age. The clergy, generally speaking, were shrewd, worldly men who preached moderation and frowned upon enthusiasm. Of the Anglicans, the two Peploes, who were vicars of Preston, were probably not unfavourable representatives of their class. Whigs in politics, contented with the existing state of things, with a keen eye for promotion and good livings, and active in church business, they were yet untouched by the divine fire, and suspicious of High Anglicanism as Popery and of any display of religious fervour as Puritanism. Amongst the Nonconformists, the large number of congregations which changed from nominal Presbyterianism to Unitarianism shows that in them also the evangelizing spirit had become extinct. The need of the hour was a man who would cast out the demons of dulness and respectability, and, leaving theological disputes to those who cared for them, would go out into the highways and byways and preach the Gospel to all men. With the hour there came the man, and the movement which was started by John Wesley,

1. According to the Revd. B. Nightingale, Richard Bolton was minister from 1773—1781.

and spread far and wide by the eloquence of George Whitefield, transformed the face of England.

His teaching was somewhat slow in reaching Lancashire, and when it did arrive it found its welcome in the villages rather than in the large towns. The small hamlet of Brimicroft, near Brindle, was its first home in this part of the county, and from there William Grimshaw, William Darney, and John Bennett went forth to evangelize the neighbourhood. Though a small band of the faithful had occasionally met together in Preston, it was not until the conversion of Roger Crane and William Bramwell that the movement obtained any hold on the town. In 1781 its adherents received a visit from their founder, but how small were the numbers and how little was the importance of the local church may be seen from the fact that Preston was included in the Colne circuit. Six years later a chapel was built in Back Lane[1] and the borough was made part of the newly created Blackburn circuit. At length, in 1799, the cause had made such advance in the town that Preston was constituted the head of the circuit and eighteen years later Lune Street Chapel was opened. Strength was added to strength until it was found necessary to divide the district into two, and Lune Street Chapel and Wesley Chapel respectively became the centres of two circuits which together extend from Longton to Longridge and from Higher Walton to Kirkham.[2]

Like other religious bodies the Wesleyan Methodists have suffered from secessions, which in their case have been chiefly caused by the character of their church government, which has elevated the clerical element at the expense of the laity. In the process of time three new religious societies were formed, the Methodist New

1. Mr. Carr's corn warehouse is erected on the site of the chapel. *Preston Guardian,* March 26th, 1910.

2. This account of Wesleyan Methodism has been taken in large part from Allen's *Methodism in Preston.*

Connexion, founded by Alexander Kilham, the Primitive Methodists, who were followers of Bourne and Clowes, and the United Methodist Free Church, which was formed by the union of other schismatical bodies with the Wesleyan Methodist Association. The Methodist New Connexion formerly had a habitation in the town,[1] but nowadays only the other two offshoots from the parent body have places of worship here. The Primitive Methodist chapels are in Saul Street, in Fylde Road, in Deepdale Mill Street and in Eldon Street. The United Methodist Free Church had four chapels, respectively situate in Parker Street, in the Orchard, in Moor Lane, and in Deepdale Road: since the union of that body with the Methodist New Connexion and the Bible Christians, these are now under the government of the United Methodist Church.

The origin of Cannon Street Congregational Chapel is involved in considerable obscurity. Probably about the same time that Roger Crane became a Wesleyan Methodist, other Dissenters had begun to meet together in a building in Back Lane, which was known as the old Cock Pit.[2] They were connected in some unknown way with similar congregations at Elswick, Forton and Garstang, and in 1784 moved from the Cock Pit to a room in the Strait Shambles, and from thence in 1790 to a newly erected chapel situate on the south side of Fishergate, at its junction with another street, which is now called Chapel Street. The congregation continued to increase until the Fishergate chapel was too small to accommodate the number of worshippers and a new chapel was opened in Cannon Street in 1826. It was considerably enlarged in 1852 during the pastorate of Dr. Spence

1. In Vauxhall Road, Fishwick, *History*, 171.

2. This cock pit still stands: it is near to the covered market end of Back Lane and is now occupied by Mr. J. T. Mayor, waterproof cover manufacturer. It is to be distinguished from the cock pit in Stonygate, where the teetotallers held their meetings, which was closed—as a cock pit—in 1830. *Preston Guardian*, March 26th, 1910.

and is now served by the Revd. Benjamin Nightingale, the historian of Lancashire nonconformity.

In 1807 another theological breeze disturbed the Percy Street congregation. William Manning Walker, who had been minister since 1802, found that his views on the doctrine of the Trinity had undergone a change and withdrew from his charge with a considerable number of his flock. They built themselves a place of worship in Grimshaw Street, and formed themselves into an Independent church, which exists to this day.

A secession from Cannon Street in 1860 resulted in the establishment of a third Congregational Church. A dispute arose in that year between the minister Thomas Davies and certain members of the congregation, which had two results. First of all Mr. Davies resigned, and secondly 107 members united to form another church. If we may trust the documents the secession was accomplished in a manner that was highly creditable both to those who withdrew and to those who remained. Be that as it may, the seceders after worshipping for some time at the Avenham Institution, which, like the chapel in Vauxhall Road, has from time to time sheltered many small bodies of dissenters, proceeded to build themselves a chapel in Lancaster Road, on a site which was near to, or formed part of the garden of that old vicarage where lived in the seventeenth century the Presbyterian vicar Isaac Ambrose.

In 1894, through the united efforts of the congregations of Cannon Street, Grimshaw Street and Lancaster Road, a fourth church was founded and a new place of worship erected in Garstang Road close to the Fulwood boundary.

About the same time that the Congregationalists and Wesleyan Methodists were establishing themselves here, the Baptists also appeared in the town. The introduction of this sect into Preston was due to the transfer of calico printing from London to Walton by three members of the Particular Baptist church, which met in Little Prescot

Street in Goodman's Fields. These three were Edward Burford and Peter and Ann Anstie, who came here in 1782 and founded the Mosney Print Works at Walton. In 1785 the little congregation built themselves a place of worship in Leeming Street, a new street which was being formed in the fields and gardens to the south-east of the town on the way from Preston to Walton. Though adherents were few and the early years were years of struggle, a curious proposal which emanated from the Congregationalists, whose fortunes also were at a low ebb, that the two bodies should join forces at Leeming Street and that the Baptists should drop baptism was refused, and the little church continued its battle alone. At a later time, however, the meeting house was shared with another congregation, being obtained as a temporary resting place by William Manning Walker and those who seceded with him from Percy Street in 1807. However, when Walker erected his chapel in Grimshaw Street, the Baptists again took heart of grace and organized their services afresh. In 1832 they appointed William Giles to be their minister. He was so successful in his ministry that it became necessary to enlarge the building; but his chief title to remembrance will generally be held to consist in the fact that at Rochester he taught Charles Dickens, when that great novelist was a boy.

Meanwhile other Baptist bodies were being formed. In 1825 the New Connexion General Baptists made their first attempt to obtain a foothold in the town and opened a chapel in Vauxhall Road, but in a short time they were superseded by a number of ultra-Calvinistic Baptists, who followed the teaching of William Gadsby. A little later, certain Scotch Baptists also gathered themselves together and took over a building in Meadow Street.

A split occurring amongst the ultra-Calvinists of Vauxhall Road, the seceders built a fourth Baptist meeting house in Regent Street, which they christened Zoar, as being their city of refuge. Though this schism was healed and the 'refugees' returned to Vauxhall

Road, a fresh division subsequently took place which resulted in the formation of the Strict Baptist Church in Great Avenham Street.

Next there occurred a secession in the original foundation of Leeming Street. When the pastor Alexander Birnie resigned in 1854, 71 members withdrew and founded a chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in Pole Street. The congregation was very active for a time, and a swarm from them founded the Tabernacle in St. George's Road. Unfortunately dissensions ensued and the Pole Street Baptists were divided into two bands; however, the trustees of the building came to the rescue and carried on services, until a new church called the Carey Baptist Church was formed.

The congregation at Leeming Street continued to grow, in spite of the number of competing churches, and it was at length decided to build a new chapel in Fishergate. In 1858 this chapel was opened, and the old premises, after being used for a time as a Ragged School by the Anglicans, were pulled down and the church of the Holy Saviour built upon the site. Nowadays the very name of Leeming Street has disappeared, being swallowed up in that of the longer thoroughfare known as Manchester Road.

The New Connexion made a second attempt in Moor Lane, but their building also passed into the hands of the Anglicans and is now used as a parish room for St. Thomas's.

The latest enterprise of the Baptist body has been the erection of a chapel in Garden Walk, Ashton, thus bringing the number of their places of worship up to six, viz., Fishergate, Vauxhall Road, Great Avenham Street, Carey Chapel, in Pole Street, St. George's Road and Garden Walk, Ashton.[1]

1. This account of the history of the Baptists in Preston is based upon two articles contributed by the Revd. W. T. Whitley to the *Preston Guardian* of September 26th and October 3rd, 1908.

The teaching of George Fox always made more headway in the country than in the town, and we are consequently not surprised to find that in this district the Quakers were more numerous in Freckleton, Great Eccleston and other villages of the Fylde than in Preston, and that the district meeting was for long known as the Fylde Monthly Meeting. Their first known meeting house in the town was situated between Everton Gardens and Spring Gardens on the north side of Church Street, where they remained until 1784, when they removed to a building on the north side of Friargate, which was rebuilt in 1847.[1]

But it would be impossible to deal in detail with all the varying types of dissent, that have appeared in the town from time to time, and we will close this very imperfect review by mentioning the somewhat curious fact that when the Latter Day Saints, or Mormons as they are popularly called, decided upon missionary enterprise in England, it was in Preston that they opened their campaign.[2]

Speaking generally, Preston has not proved a very fruitful soil for Nonconformity. Neither Wesleyan Methodism nor the older forms of Nonconformity have flourished here, as they have in the eastern parts of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The reasons are hard to discover, and any attempt to state them would be out of place in a work of this character. It is sufficient to say that while a favourable estimate of

1. For further details of the early history of the Society of Friends in this district, see two articles by Mr. Dilworth Abbatt, in the *Preston Guardian* of March 6th and March 13th, 1909.

On pp. 448 and 449 of the recently published book of William C. Braithwaite on *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, (Macmillan, 1912), an interesting account is given of a debate between certain well known Friends and some opposing clergy, which was held at the Bull Hotel, Preston, on March 4th, 1656, and presided over by Major General Worsley.

2. Hewitson, *History*, 538.

their numbers does not place them at more than a fourth of the population, it is admitted that they are a respectable and well-to-do portion of the community, who contribute but little to the annals of the police court or of the workhouse. In 1890 a Free Church Council was formed on the lines of the National Council, composed of representatives from the different evangelical churches of the town, the main objects of which are to facilitate fraternal intercourse between the associated churches and to defend their rights. It further provides an organization which enables the different branches of Nonconformity to voice Nonconformist feeling and thought on public questions.

We have already dealt in some measure with Roman Catholicism. It is a generally accepted fact that Preston contains more adherents of this religious body in proportion to its population than any other town in the kingdom, as they form about one third of the inhabitants, although these are chiefly of the poorer working class. As a body they are well organized and the annual procession of their gilds on Whit-Monday morning is a charming spectacle, that could scarcely be excelled even in the mother city of their faith. Their first chapel in the town was that of St. Mary, in Chapel Yard on the west side of Friargate. In 1761 a new chapel was erected a short distance away, which was destroyed in a riot at the election of 1768. It was rebuilt but closed in 1793, when the church of St. Wilfrid was built in Chapel Street, was again reopened in 1815, and is now used as a chapel of ease to St. Wilfrid's. The other places of worship in the town are St. Ignatius's (1836), St. Augustine's (1840), St. Walburge's (1852) a magnificent building, with a beautiful tapering spire 303 feet high designed by Hansom, (who is chiefly remembered for the cab he invented), St. Joseph's (1862), English Martyrs' (1867), designed by Pugin and built on Gallows Hill, where some of the rebels of 1715 were hanged, and the Sacred Heart at Ashton (1903). St. Wilfrid's, St. Ignatius's

and St. Walburge's are served by priests of the Order of Jesus, the other churches by seculars.

In order to give an uninterrupted account of the other religious bodies of the town, we have left the Anglican church and Humphrey Shuttleworth the vicar waiting at the end of the eighteenth century, and must now return to them. The vicar, who was made a prebendary of York and one of the king's preachers for Lancashire, married a Hoghton, finally resigned the vicarage in 1809, and was buried in the chancel of Kirkham church in 1812.[1]

The next vicar, James Penny,[2] held the cure from 1809 to 1816, when he was succeeded by Roger Carus Wilson,[3] who was vicar until his death in 1839. His incumbency was an era of church building. The increase in the population, consequent upon the Industrial Revolution and the growth of the cotton industry in the town, must have made the existing accommodation for those who wished to worship according to the methods of the established church woefully inadequate, and due credit must be given to the vicar and those who assisted him in carrying out this work of church extension and of satisfying the spiritual needs of the inhabitants. Already, in 1815 a third church, that of the Holy Trinity had been erected on part of Patten Field on the north side of Back Lane, but between 1825 and 1839 no fewer than six new churches arose in the town, while another was built in Ashton outside the borough boundary. The first of these new churches was that of St. Peter, which was a Gothic edifice erected in Fylde Road on land, which formed part of Spittle Moss, so that even now it is sometimes referred to as 'The Moss Church.' In the following year, 1826, there was opened a second church built upon part of a plot of land lying to the north of Church Street and to the west of Deepdale Road, and

1. Smith, *Records*, 76–77, and Fishwick, *History*, 190.
2. Smith, *Records*, 77–78, and Fishwick, *History*, 191–192.
3. Smith, *Records*, 78–79, and Fishwick, *History*, 192

known as 'The Park.' The land was given by Samuel Pole Shawe (a son of William Cunliffe Shawe, M.P. for Preston) and this church which was dedicated to St. Paul, was like the church of St. Peter, designed by Thomas Rickman,[1] and built out of a sum of about £13,000, part of the public moneys provided by the Church Building Acts.

In 1837 Christ Church was opened and in 1838 St. Thomas's and St. Mary's. The vicar would seem to have had a weakness for Norman architecture, for all these churches are in the style of that period. Christ Church is the best of the three, but all of them are plain, heavy, cumbersome buildings and cannot be said to do much credit to their designers.

In 1838 the vicar acquired another building, which had been built by the Revd. James Fielding as a place of worship for the Primitive Episcopal Church. Mr. Fielding, being unable to raise the money necessary to meet the demands of the builders and contractors, was compelled to sell it, and it was acquired by the Revd. R. C. Wilson at the price of £1,000, a sum which was much below the original cost. The edifice was dedicated to St. James and was subsequently rebuilt in stone.

The last of these churches that remains to be mentioned is that of St. Andrew at Ashton, which was consecrated in 1836.

While new churches were thus being built and districts assigned to them, the old parish church had again fallen into such decay that it was decided to rebuild it. Accordingly, in 1853, nearly the whole of the church was pulled down and rebuilt in the decorated Gothic style on the old foundations, according to the designs of E. H. Shellard of Manchester, at a cost of about £9,500.

The list of churches in the borough was subsequently extended by the building of All Saints' (1850), St. Luke's (1859), St. Mark's (1863), the Holy Saviour (1868),

1. For Rickman, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLVIII, 267.

Emmanuel (1870), St. Matthew's (1883), St. Stephen's (1888), and St. Michael and All Angels, Ashton (1908). Quite recently steps have been taken for the building of a new church dedicated to St. Cuthbert and the creation of a new parish, out of the existing parishes of Emmanuel, St. Thomas's and Fulwood, and for the union of Holy Trinity with St. George's and the utilization of part of the endowment of the former church for the new one. The whole scheme, which it is estimated will involve an outlay of from £20,000 to £30,000, also includes a proposal for the removal of the church of St. Saviour to a site in Frenchwood Avenue and the building of a new and larger church at Fulwood.[1]

The mere number of churches furnishes excellent testimony to the strength of the establishment in Preston. Of the teaching given in them it may be said generally that here, as in the greater part of West Lancashire, it is of a Low Church and Protestant type, the services being devoid of ritual and ceremonial, agreeing in this with the buildings, which are for the most part plain and unornamental in character.

In 1828 the advowson of the parish church was purchased from the Hoghton family by the Hulme Trustees, who are the possessors of it at the present time. Under the provisions of that trust as extended by a private Act of Parliament, all persons presented to livings in the gift of the trustees are required to have been educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, to have taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that university and to have entered holy orders.[2]

On the death of Roger Carus Wilson in 1839 the new owners of the living presented the Revd. John Owen

1. *Preston Guardian*, October 1st, 1910.

2. For William Hulme of Kearsley, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII, 202. The following private Acts have been passed to regulate the trust, viz., 10 Geo., III, c. 51; 35 Geo., III, c. 62; and 7 and 8 Geo., IV, c. 9.

Parr of Liverpool to the benefice. The new vicar was a man of considerable force of character, an ardent churchman and a strong Conservative. He was appointed a justice of the peace for the county and canon of Manchester, and also took an active part in the life of the town.

While the Revd. Mr. Parr was vicar of the parish the growth of population in the county made it necessary to divide the bishopric of Chester and a new bishopric, that of Manchester, was accordingly created in 1847. The new see comprised the deaneries of Manchester, Blackburn and Leyland, with the parish of Leigh, which was in the deanery of Warrington, and the deanery of Amounderness with such parts of the deaneries of Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale as were within the county boundary. This area was at first divided into two archdeaconries, those of Manchester and Lancaster, but in 1877 the archdeaconry of Blackburn was carved out of Manchester. Further alterations were subsequently made, as a result of which the archdeaconry of Lancaster now comprises five deaneries of which Preston, containing twenty-six parishes, is one and the vicar of the parish the dean.[1]

On Mr. Parr's death in 1877 he was followed by the Revd. J. H. Rawdon, who on his resignation was succeeded by the present vicar the Revd. H. S. Butler.

1. *Victoria County History, Lancashire,* II, 100.

APPENDIX.

RECTORS.

c. 1153—1160.	WILLIAM.[1]
c. 1186—1196.	ROBERT.[2]
c. 1196.	AYMER DE LA ROCHE.[3]
c. 1201.	RALPH DE LA TOUR.[4]
1202.	PETER RUSSINOIL.[5]
c. 1219—1241.	AMER (AMERICUS OR EMERICUS) DES ROCHES.[6]
1243.	GUY DE ROUSILLON.[7]
1243—1252.	WILLIAM DE HAVERHILL.[8]
1252—1256.	ARNULF.[9]
1256—1261.	HENRY DE WINGHAM.[10]
1262—(1277).	WALTER DE MERTON.[11]

1. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 323–325 : *Priory of Penwortham*, Chetham Society, O.S., XXX, 5.

2. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 361 : Smith, *Records*, 25.

3. *Lancaster Church*, Chetham Society, XXXI, 519.

4. Smith, *Records*, 25.

5. *Testa de Nevill*, (Rec. Comm.), 371 and 401, *Lancashire Inquests*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, XLVII, 120.

6. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Hen. III, 1216—1225, 199 and 336 : *ibid.*, Hen. III, 1225—1232, 189 : *Testa de Nevill*, 371 : *Piccope*, MSS., VIII, 155. It is probable, as suggested by Smith, (*Records*, 26), that the Henry nephew of the Bishop of Winchester, who is mentioned in the *Testa de Nevill* is the same person as the Americus or Emericus who appears in the *Patent Rolls* and that 'Henricus' has been written in mistake for 'Emericus.'

7. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Hen. III, 1232—1247, 387.

8. Ante, 32.

9. Ante, 32–33.

10. Ante, 32.

11. Ante, 32.

c. 1306.	Eustace de Godesbeche.[1]
—1321.	James Fairford.[2]
1321—1348.	Thurstan de Holland.[3]
1348—1359.	Henry de Walton.[4]
1359—	Robert de Burton.[5]
c. 1366.	John Charnels.[6]
1374—	Ralph de Erghum.[7]
c. 1397.	John Zederburgh or Zerdeburgh (? Sedbergh).[8]
c. 1400.	William de Stevington.[9]

VICARS.

c. 1415.	Richard Walton.[10]
1419—1421.	John White.[11]
1421—1452.	John Legeard or Yorke.[12]
1452—1454.	Thomas Tunstall.[13]

1. *Parliamentary Writs*, (Rec. Comm.), I, 179 : *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. I, 1301—1307, 457 : *Lancashire Lay Subsidies*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, XXVII, 257.

2. *Lancaster Church*, Chetham Society, XXXI, 448.

3. *Lancashire Fines*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, XLVI, 103 : *Lancaster Church*, Chetham Society, XXXI, 448 : *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, VIII, 38, 207–208 : *Piccope MSS.*, X, 9.

4. Ante, 33.

5. *Piccope MSS.*, IV, 149 : Smith, *Records*, 35–36.

6. Smith, *Records*, 36–37. Fishwick, (*History*, 176) casts doubt upon this rector, but he cannot have seen the MS. quoted by Smith, which clearly states that Charnels possessed the benefice of Preston *in Amounderness*.

7. Ante, 33.

8. *Cal. Papal Letters*, V, 1396—1404, 22.

9. *Ibid.*, VI, 1404—1415, 110.

10. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, IX, 7.

11. *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 395.

12. *Lancashire Fines*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, L, 82 and 87 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 379, 397

13. *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 379.

1454—	Robert Cowell.[1]
c. 1494.	Thomas Bolton.[2]
c. 1535.	Robert Singleton.[3]
1548—1562.	James Bradshaw.[4]
1563—1566.	Roger Chorley.[5]
1566—1572.	Leonard Chorley.[6]
1572—1580.	Nicholas Daniel.[7]
1580—	Thomas Wall.[8]
1592—1603.	William Sawrey.[9]
1604—1621.	John Paler[10]
1621—1623.	James Martin.[11]
1623—1625.	Alexander Bradley.[12]
1625—1626.	John Inskip.[13]
1626.	John Lewis.[14]
1626—1630.	Augustine Wildbore.[15]

1. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, IX, 12 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 379.

2. *Piccope MSS.*, XIV, 59.

3. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, (Rec. Comm.), V, 262.

4. *Chetham Miscellanies*, Chetham Society, XLVII, 3.

5. *Piccope MSS.*, XVIII, 173 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 40.

6. *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, VIII, 409 : *Piccope MSS.*, XVIII, 173.

7. *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, VIII, 410 : *Piccope MSS.*, XVIII, 173 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 40, 148—156.

8. *Preston Guild Rolls*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, IX, 50 : *Kenyon MSS.*, 601 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 40.

9. *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, VIII, 410 : *Piccope MSS.*, XVIII, 173 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 40, 46 and 52.

10. *Kenyon MSS.*, 9 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 120.

11. *Kenyon MSS.*, 9, : Fishwick, *History*, 179.

12. Smith, *Records*, 50.

13. *Ibid.*, 50–51.

14. Lewis was one of the king's preachers for Lancashire. The only authority for including him amongst the list of vicars is a statement in Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*. Earwaker, *Gleanings*, I, 24.

15. *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, VIII, 412, 413 : *Raine MSS.*, XXII, 200.

1630—1639.	James Starkie.[1]
(1639)—1657.	Isaac Ambrose.[2]
1657.	George Thomasson.
1658—1662.	William Cole.
1662—1663.	Thomas Stanhope.
1663—1682.	Seth Bushell.
1682—1700.	Thomas Birch.
1700—1727.	Samuel Peploe.
1727—1743.	Samuel Peploe, Junior.
1743—1782.	Randal Andrews.
1782—1809.	Humphrey Shuttleworth.
1809—1817.	James Penny.
1817—1839.	Roger Carus Wilson.
1840—1877.	John Owen Parr.
1877—1900.	James Hamer Rawdon.
1900—	Hercules Scott Butler.

1. *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, VIII, 413.

2. The authorities for this and subsequent vicars will be found quoted in the notes to Chapter IX.

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